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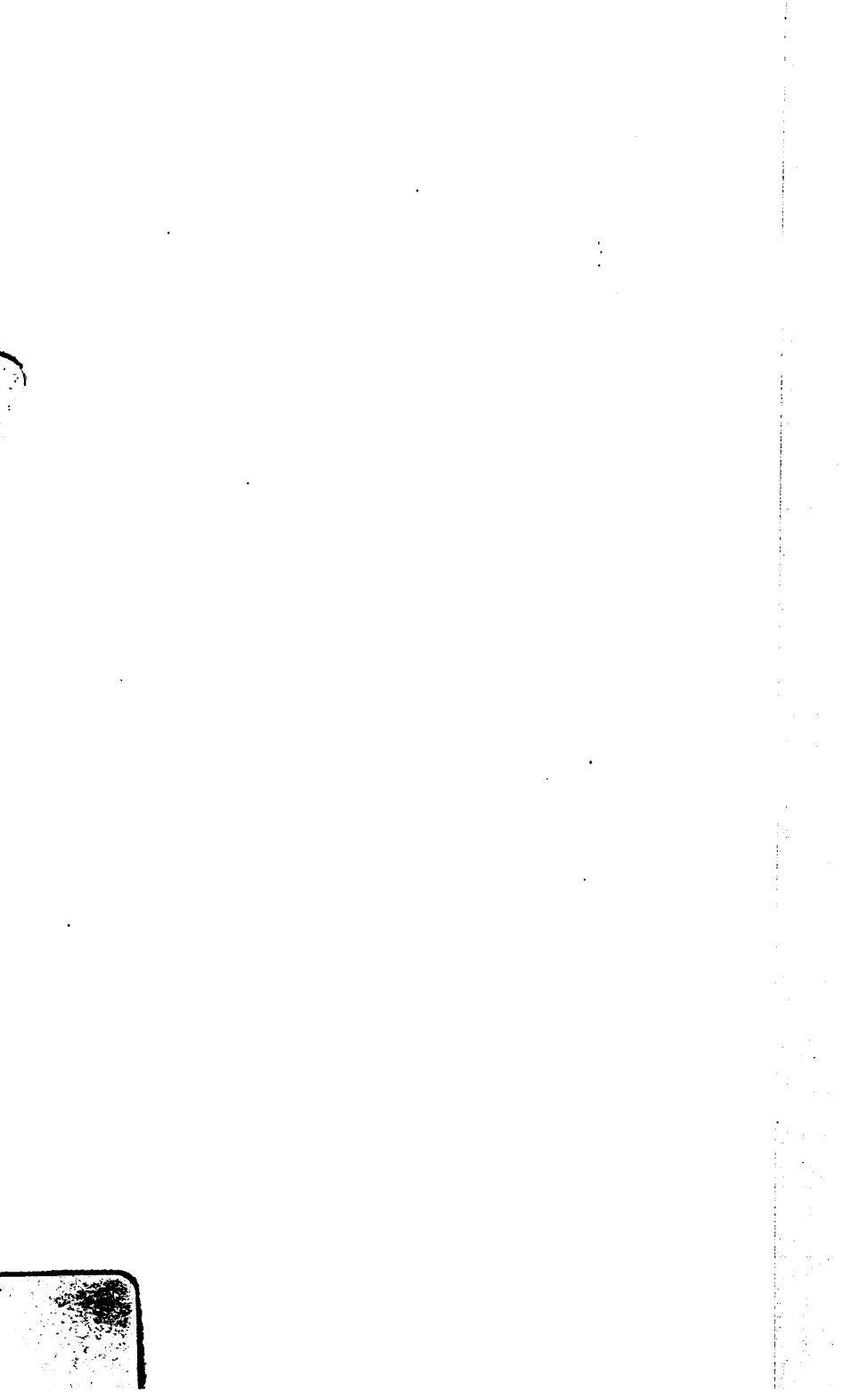
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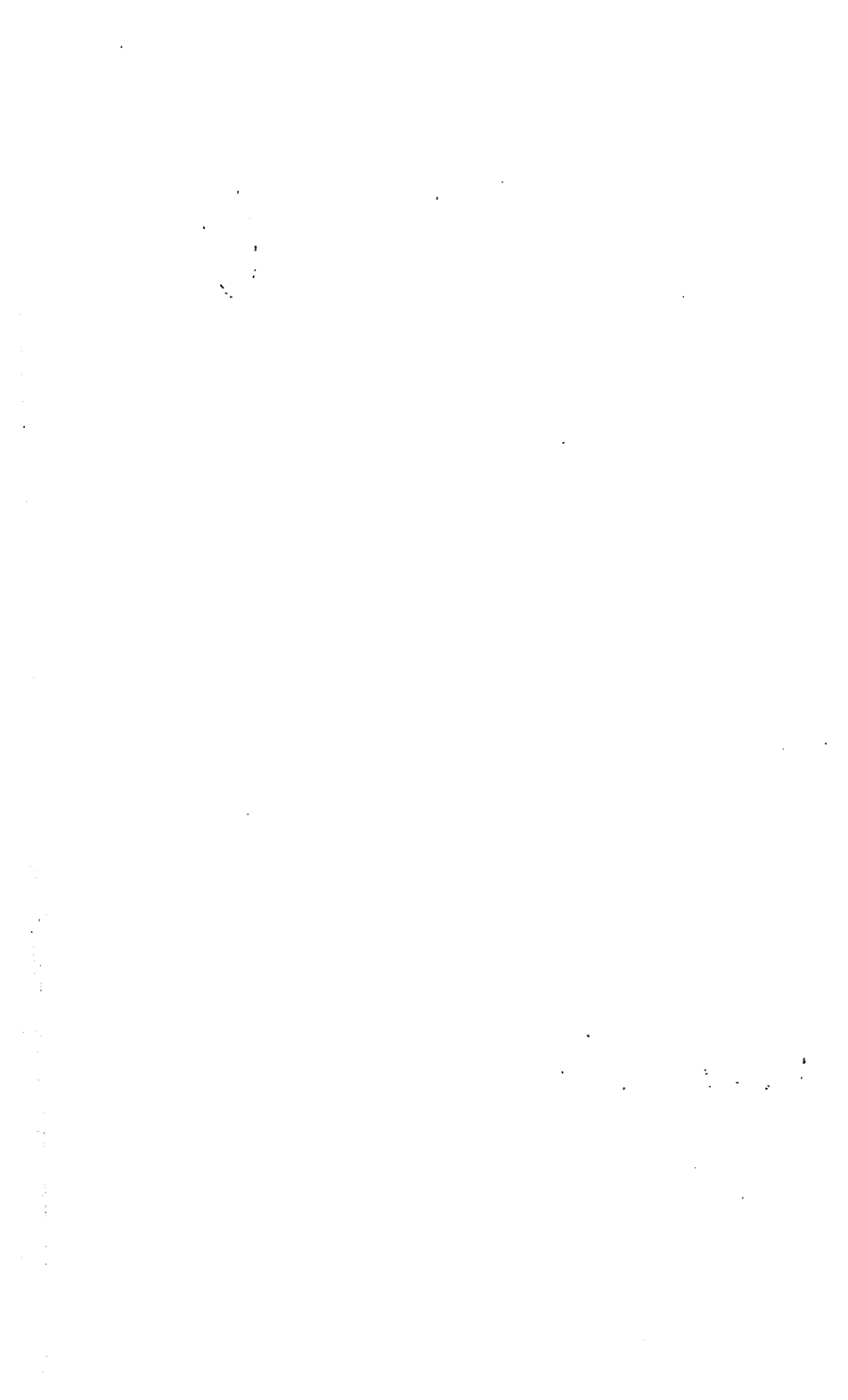
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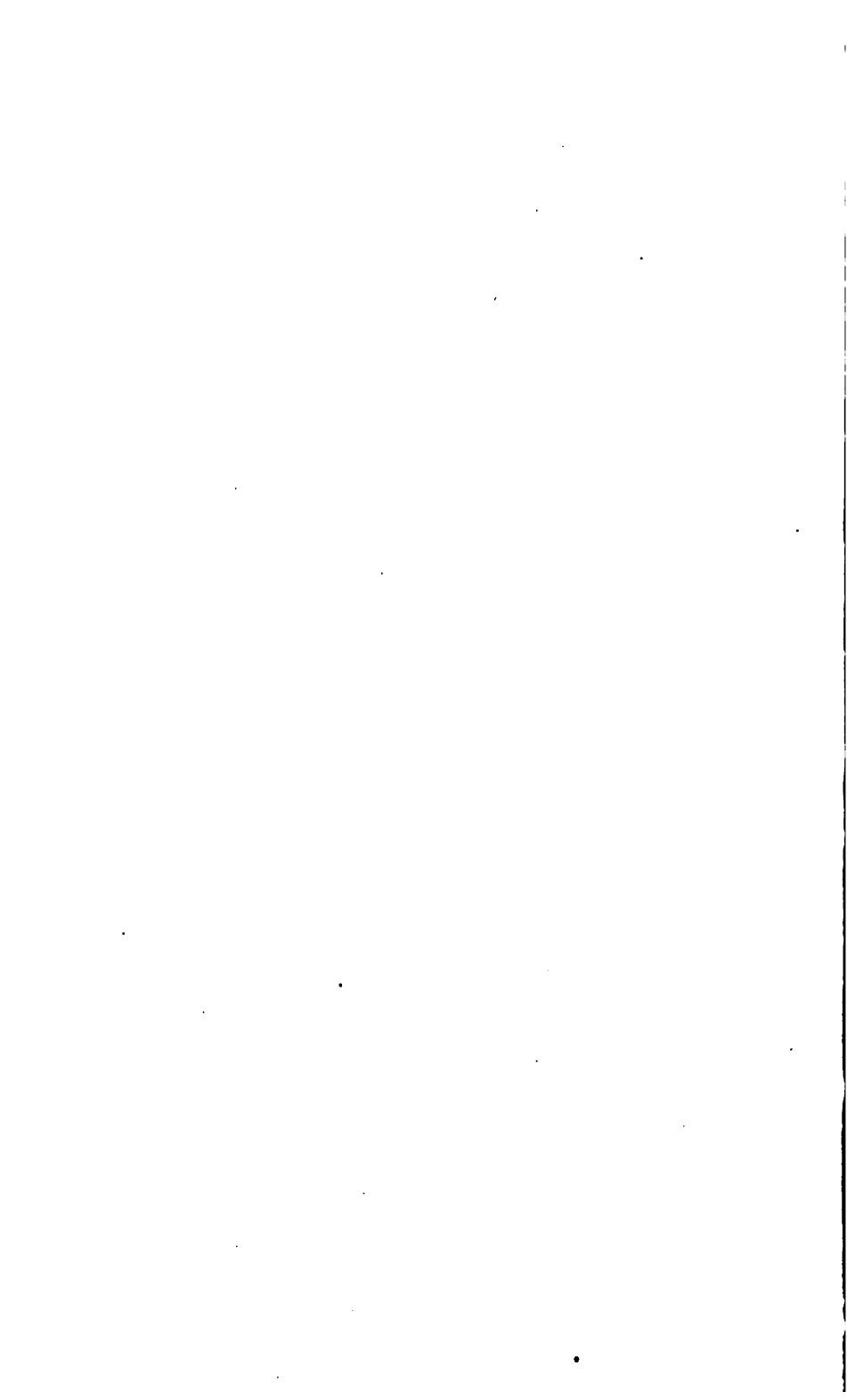




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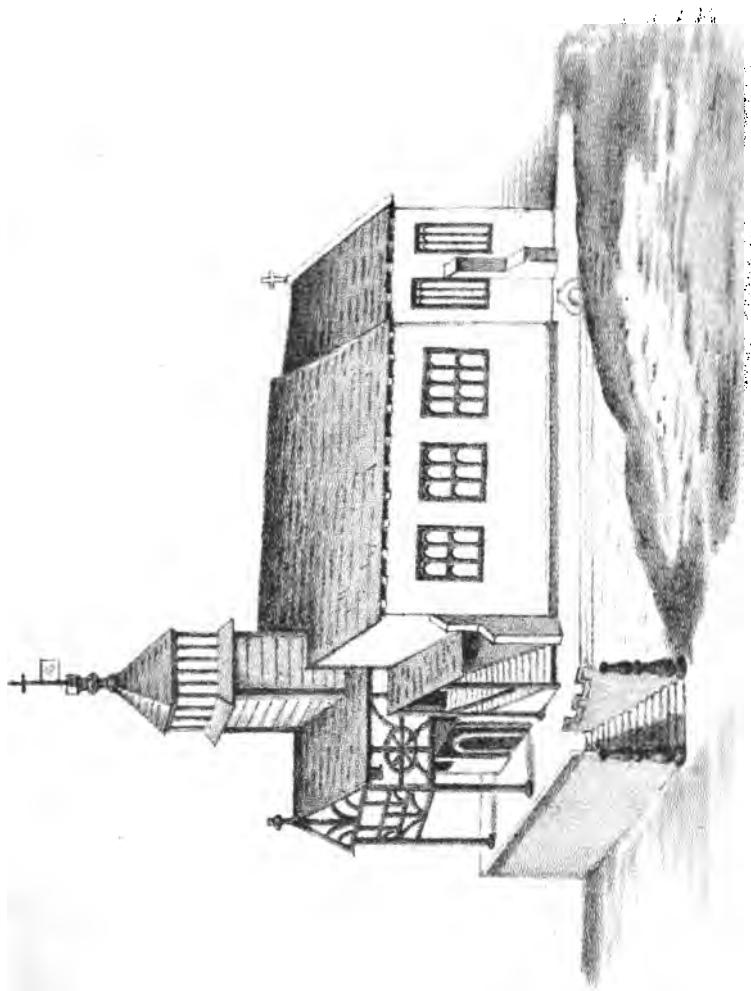
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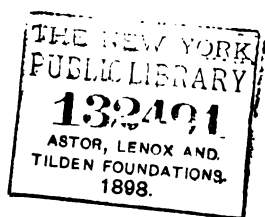
ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, CHESTER, AS REBUILT IN 1582.

JOURNAL  
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*This volume has been edited by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., elected Hon. Editorial Secretary at the Annual Meeting, held on the 14th May, 1887.*

ROY W. B.  
J. P. E.  
1887.

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1889-90.

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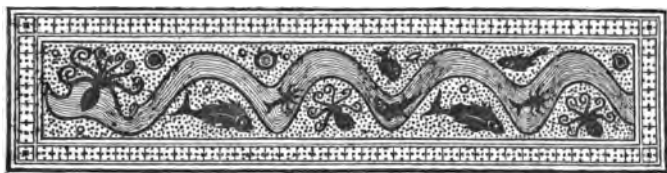
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ON SOME MANUSCRIPTS, RELATING  
TO ST. WERBURGH'S ABBEY, CHESTER,  
PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.

(Read 21st January, 1859.)

THE Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburgh, the church of which is now the cathedral of this city, has its origin, like many other ancient and important institutions, involved in some obscurity. There are, however, certain well-known and admitted facts in the history of this religious establishment, which are illustrated by MSS. in the British Museum, and I shall, for the most part of this paper, endeavour to show how these records are worthy of examination and perusal by the members of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society.

The learned Tanner, relying upon the statements of William of Malmesbury, of whose chronicles, called the *Gesta Regum*, or "Acts of the Kings," the British Museum possesses several fine examples (one of which appears to have been corrected with his own hand), points out, that pretty early in the Saxon times there was a religious house in Chester, probably a nunnery, dedicated to the honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, to which in the year 875 the remains

of St. Werburga, the royal virgin daughter of Wulphere, the first Christian king of Mercia, were translated from Heanburgh. But this establishment was either ruined by the wars so common in the period, or fell into decay with lapse of time, so that in the time of the pious King Æthelstan (after Alfred, the brightest light of Anglo-Saxon days) the place was rebuilt or rearranged for secular canons, under the superintendence of Elfleda, countess of Mercia; and afterwards enlarged by the munificence of the royal benefactors, King Edmund, King Edgar, and Earl Leofric, in honour of St. Werburgh. Although a copy of King Edgar's charter is extant in one of the abbey registers in the British Museum, it has been truly observed that the monks seem to have been indifferent to the preservation of any documents of the endowment of the church, previous to the grant of Hugh Lupus, about to be referred to. I shall speak of Edgar's charter of foundation more at length presently. Dugdale, the writer of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (one of whose editors was the late Sir Henry Ellis, of the British Museum), gives a detailed account of the doings of these early benefactors, and shows how the canons of this abbey, at the time the Domesday Survey was made, held as many as thirteen houses, free from taxes of any kind, in Chester; one being appropriated to the warden, the others held by the canons. These habitations probably stood on the very sites now occupied by the canons' houses, under the shadow of the cathedral. The land held by them was at this time extensive. The advent of the Normans appears to have resulted in some loss of the property of the canons, who would, indeed, have been fortunate if they had escaped untouched through the mighty social revolution which that event, the coming of the foreigners, slowly but surely wrought around them.

In the year 1093, another change took effect in the constitution of this abbey, for at the instigation of Anselm, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Chester, Hugh Lupus, or by some called Hugh de Abrincis, or Hugh of Avranches, sister's son of King William the Conqueror, ejected the secular canons from St. Werburgh's, and set up in their place an abbot and convent of Benedictine monks from Bec, the well-known abbey in Normandy, from which place Anselm himself had come, and he, being at that time abbot of Bec, prevailed with Earl Hugh to appoint his chaplain, Richard of Bec, as first abbot of the new order of things at Chester. From this period the list of abbots is continued, without a break, to John Clarke, the twenty-seventh in order, who was elected about the year 1537.

Endowed from the first in a most ample and liberal manner by Hugh Lupus, the powerful earl of Chester (who himself at his death, 1101, took the habit of a monk in the abbey which he had so materially supported), this great Chester monastery maintained a prominent position throughout the long period of nearly four hundred and fifty years. Not always, however, did the current of monastic life run smoothly; and while the good work of the house proceeded apace (for in the middle ages a monastery was not only a retreat for persons of religious tendencies, but also the hospital, library, seminary, and general local centre of light, progress, and intelligence) there were often many powerful enemies to be contended with. One of these was Roger de Montalt, the justiciary of Chester, who, in the year 1258, in the time of Thomas de Capenhurst, twelfth abbot, endeavoured, by means of his influential position, to deprive the monks of the manors of Lawton and Gosetree, and of certain churches which had been granted to the abbey. Some of these possessions were accordingly occu-

pied by an armed force, and the monks were compelled to make a disastrous compromise with the justiciary. The chronicler who tells us this seems to have been indoctrinated with the foolish fatalistic ideas which even now are not extinct among the ignorant, for he attributes to the direct interposition of the Almighty the death of Montalt's eldest son within a fortnight of the compromise, and does not forget to record that Montalt himself died in want, and that his very place of burial was unknown.<sup>1</sup>

In the later years of the thirteenth century, in 1263, during Capenhurst's term of abbacy, further troubles arose with William de la Zouche, another justiciary of Chester, who even went so far as to introduce his armed forces into the sacred area of the abbey itself. Capenhurst's successor, in 1265, Simon de Albo Monasterio, or de Whitchurch, was one of the most active in the series of the abbots. He began his career with trouble, for Lucas de Taney, the then justiciary of Chester, prevented him from assuming the control of the monastery for three weeks, and, taking possession of the monastic revenues, squandered them away in a reckless and profligate manner. In Abbot Whitchurch's time a noteworthy event took place, which is recorded in a manuscript among the Harleian collections in the British Museum. This was the grant of a fountain or well at Christleton, by one of the family of Burnel. The monks forthwith proceeded to make a cistern twenty feet square at this place, and another tank was prepared within the cloisters of the abbey, for they were keenly alive to the importance of having an unfailing service of pure water at their command. A communication was then made between

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Chronicle of S. Werburg*, recently printed by the Record Society, vol. xiv., pp. 76-7.

the two, whereby the abbey was constantly supplied with pure spring water. King Edward I., by letters patent, granted to St. Werburgh's Abbey the right of carrying their pipes from Christleton to Chester through all the intervening lands—(a valuable precedent was this for our present water companies)—and the king even permitted the city walls to be taken down where necessary for this purpose. It does not appear that any sculptured or inscribed stones were found on that occasion. But it would be valuable to local history if the exact spots could be ascertained where this disturbance of the walls was carried out. No doubt the disturbed condition of the masonry of the walls would reveal to a practised eye the precise position of this conduit. It may be that the ancient pipes are still *in situ* running through the thickness of the wall. To Abbot William de Bebington, 1345-9, belongs the honour of obtaining the mitre for the abbots of Chester, thereby entitling them to sit in the parliament of England, among the peers of the realm, an honour only enjoyed by a limited number of the most important religious houses of the kingdom.

Abbot Simon de Ripley, the twenty-third abbot, 1485-93, is recorded to have rebuilt the nave, tower, and south transept of the abbey. This latter portion, better known as St. Oswald's church, now strikes the lay visitor to the city as sadly in need of judicious repair. I hope I may be allowed to say that it would be a distinct advantage to the cathedral church, as a place of worship, if immediate steps were taken by the dean and chapter to fill up the holes in the stonework, to complete the missing parts of the roofing, and to repair the flooring of this elegant part of the cathedral fabric. Considering the circumstances of the case, a very moderate amount of money would be required, and the cathedral mason could hardly make a mistake in

following the old lines of the mouldings which have been in places badly cut about when the transept was fitted up as a parish church. To repair this transept, and to effect its useful and practical reunion with the rest of the cathedral, would add very much to the dignity of the fabric, and redound to the praise of those under whose auspices so necessary and so valuable a work was carried out.

Abbot John Brichenshaw, the twenty-fourth abbot, 1493, turned his attention to restoring the magnificence of the abbey buildings. This was the great age of beautifully elaborate ecclesiastical and monastic architecture. Whether the productions of the fifteenth century are more to be admired than those of the preceding centuries, simpler, chaster, and less pretentious, I will not on this occasion presume to say, but there is no doubt that in the fifteenth century the climax of the architects' art in England seems to have been attained. Abbot Brichenshaw is declared to have built the beautiful western entrance, and intended to have added two western towers to this entrance, of one of which he laid the foundations in 1508. There is a deed relating to this abbot, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, of which I make mention further on. The last abbot, John Clarke, so readily fell in with the king's wishes in surrendering the monastery at the dissolution, that the king made him first dean of the new cathedral foundation in return for his easy compliance. Probably the abbot was wise enough to go with the current which he discerned to be irresistible.

Having now sketched out very rapidly some of the more prominent points in the history of St. Werburgh's Abbey, I shall proceed to show how far the MSS. in the British Museum contain records of importance in the history of this religious foundation.

And first, some notice should be made of the abbey seals.

The conventual seal measures about three and one-eighth inches diameter. On the obverse, or principal side, is an elaborately detailed representation of a thirteenth-century church in the Gothic style, partly shown in elevation, partly in section, according to the usual artistic manner of seal designers of that age. The round-headed tower-arch, with cinquefoiled inner arch, transepts, and tower with pinnacles and flags at the corners, point to an *earlier* church than that which *now* stands to adorn your city with its mediæval beauty. Under the tower-arch is a figure of St. Werburga, the royal lady, seated on a throne, holding in her right hand a pastoral staff, in her left hand a book. In each of the arches of the transept a Benedictine monk stands facing towards his patron saint. In the countersunk trefoiled panel within the triangular pediment of the tower, and in other details of the carving, the heads of monks have been introduced. The legend (when more perfect) reads :—

Sigillum Conventus Ecclesie Sancte Werburge. . . .

The reverse of the seal introduces to view a somewhat similar edifice. Under the tower-arch is a king, probably Wulphere of the Mercians, or Athelstan, who, as I have shown, introduced the secular canons, or Edgar, the royal benefactor, seated on a throne, with crown, sceptre, orb, and royal habiliment. In the transept arches are standing figures of St. Peter with his keys, and St. Paul with the sword—invariable emblems which the Church has always associated with these two of her greatest saints. In the field over the tower on the left is a wavy star or sun; the corresponding device, a crescent moon, on the right, being broken away. The legend is unfortunately imperfect, the word



"Virgo" alone being clear. Some day I hope a better example of the seal may be discovered.

The British Museum also possesses the very fine seal of Henry de Sutton, abbot of Chester, attached to a charter dated in 1394 (Wolley ch. vi. 60), endowing Henry de Coton, clerk, with an annual pension of fifty marks. It is not stated what services had been performed by Henry de Coton to warrant the abbot in granting him so large an annuity. The seal measures about three and one-eighth by two inches, and is of the pointed-oval or vesical shape. The figure of this abbot is very elegantly designed; he stands in a gracefully drawn attitude, wearing a jewelled mitre, holding in the right hand a book, in the left hand an ornamental crozier or pastoral staff, in a finely carved and canopied niche with very elaborate tabernacle work finished with crocketed pinnacles, on brackets, at the sides, on which are shields of arms: *dexter*, quarterly, 1, 4, FRANCE ANCIENT, 2, 3, ENGLAND: *sinister*, a *wolf's* head erased, for the noble WOLF,<sup>1</sup> HUGH LUPUS, second Earl of Chester, the founder and benefactor of the Abbey. All that now remains of the legend is:—

. . . Sancte Werburge Cestre.

The prior's seal, which is also in the British Museum, is of smaller dimensions. It represents the B. Virgin Mary, seated in a niche with trefoiled arch, holding the Holy Child on her knee. On the right is an angel holding a tall candle in a candlestick, the corresponding figure on

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<sup>1</sup> That WOLF was a name of valorous and courageous signification is shown by the word being employed so frequently in combinations during the Saxon period; for example, Ethelwulf, Wulfstan, Wulfwy, Wulfsige, Eadwulf, Beowulf, Wulfgar, and many others are well known to students. It is in a later time that the vicious side of the Wolf's character is made more prominent.

the left being broken away. In the base, under a trefoiled arch, with church-towers at the sides, is an ecclesiastical or monastic personage, half-length, in prayer. Unfortunately we have nothing but the single word

. . . prioris . . .

left in the legend.

The MSS. which the British Museum contains relating to St. Werburgh's are very numerous, and full of information. They can only be briefly alluded to in this paper for want of time, but I will say that they would well repay careful examination at the hands of some of the members of this Society. A thorough perusal of them would result in furnishing materials of sufficient interest for publication in a separate volume, and I should be happy to do whatever lies in my power to assist in the preparation of such a work, if any of the members, either of the Society or of the capitular body, feels desirous of undertaking it.

Among other original charters is a summons by the Dean and Precentor of London to R—, a knight of the diocese of Coventry, reciting letters of Pope Innocent III., 1205, upon the complaint of the abbot of St. Evroul, in Normandy, against the said R—, the abbot of Chester, and others, for injuries received in relation to the church and manor of Kirkby, co. Lanc., and the chapel of Wodecote, to appear before them at St. Paul's, London, to answer for the same (Wolley ch. v. 27).

Of the books we have the following :—

1. A thin folio MS. in parchment, containing twenty-nine leaves and a schedule written by various hands (Harl. MS. 2062). This (according to the classed catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum) is that "Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh of Chester," which was formerly known and distinguished from others by its two first words,

"Sanctorum Prisca." It contains abstracts of the original deeds of the founders and benefactors, and bulls of popes confirming the same. The shortness of the abstracts seems to show that they were not taken to remain in that house for ever as copies, but rather to serve, on occasion, as memoranda for the abbots. The titles of the more important deeds are given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii. 382 n. This MS. is worthy of being published in full. The first deed, "Sanctorum prisca," has been printed in the first volume of the Society's *Journal*, old series, from the original at Eaton.

2. Some collections relating to Chester (Harl. MS. 2060), beginning, as above, with the deed known as "Sanctorum prisca autoritate," made at Chester in 1649, from the writings in the charge of one of the Randle Holmes, the great Chester antiquaries, whose extensive collections are now in the MS. department of the museum.<sup>1</sup> This volume also contains "Collectanea," from a book called *Prisca Sanctorum* (evidently the same as that already mentioned), concerning lands given to the Abbey of Chester, remaining in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Chester, or of Thomas Case, the Chapter clerk.

3. Notes from the "Register Book" of St. Werburgh's, probably the same as already mentioned (Harl. MS. 5019).

4. Extracts from the "Annales Cestrenses," in possession of Sir Thomas Mostyn, Bart. (Lansd. MS. 963).

5. Excerpts from the "Chronicles of the Abbey of St. Werburgh," by Roger de Cestria (Cott. MS., Vesp. A.V. 12).

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<sup>1</sup> I believe your editorial secretary is at present engaged in carefully examining the whole of the "Holme" series of Chester MSS., with a view to giving to the world some useful account of them.

6. Extracts from the "Chronicles of Chester." Fourteenth century (Harl. MS. 6358).

7. "Collectanea" concerning the foundation and endowment of St. Werburgh's Abbey by Hugh Lupus and others, from the "Register" of the monastery (Harl. MS. 1195, 40).

8. "The titles and order of the muniments of the monastery of St. Werburgh in the city of Chester" (Harl. MS. 1965). This is followed by the "Liber Irrotulatorius Cartarum," or "Book of the charters of the monastery from its foundation down to the reign of Edward the First," with certain additions. This, which is a vellum MS. of quarto size, also appears to have been prepared, not so much with a view to giving a complete text of the deeds as to furnish the abbots with a ready means of knowing the extent of the possessions and privileges of the abbey. This MS. and Harl. 2062, a folio MS., have been described by Sir Henry Ellis in the *Monasticon*, ii. 381. Of Harl. 1965 he gives the titles of all the charters arranged in the original order of Cheshire hundreds, Lancashire, and Wales. At the end of Harl. 2062 is a deed between the abbot and Rich. de Wetenhale concerning waste land at Tideliston.

Many of these charters are unpublished, and they should be very attractive to your Society.

9. Copies of letters and writs, together with a "Register of Pleas forensic," appertaining to the abbey (Harl. MS. 2148). Several leaves are wanting for this notable MS., which is a small folio written by different hands. An index to this MS. is introduced into the *Monasticon*, ii. 382 n.

10. Memoranda respecting the founder of the abbey, and extracts from the "Liber Rubens" in possession of the dean and chapter (Add. MS. 6032).

11. Notes relating to the monastery of St. Werburgh

and to some other monasteries in Cheshire (Harl. MS. 1989).

12. Copies, or extracts, of many ancient deeds of the old earls of Chester and others, with drawings of the seals, relating to the abbey of St. Werburgh, its liberties and privileges, taken from originals in the possession of Captain John Whitworth, by the second Randle Holme, 1649 (Harl. MS. 2071).

13. This MS. (2071) also contains a fragment, on two leaves of parchment of a very good chartulary of Chester Abbey. Titles of the deeds are given in the *Monasticon*, ii. 382 n. They deserve publication in any future series of cathedral charters.

14. In the same MS. are copies of some old deeds relating to St. Werburgh's Abbey, and other religious houses, from the originals in the Treasury at Chester or with the second Randle Holme in 1652.

15. This MS. also contains extracts from deeds entered into a *Leiger-Book* of Chester Abbey, formerly in the custody of the third Randle Holme, 1668. A copy of, or rather extract from, the book commonly called the *Leiger-Book* of St. Werburgh's Abbey, fairly written in an old hand on parchment. It begins with the deed *Sanctorum Prisca* already mentioned.

16. It also has Randle Holme the second's notes about the *Liber Ruber* of Chester Abbey. He says:—"This Book is auntiently written in Parchment, and containeth Coppies of sutes oute of Courte Roules [*i.e.* Pleas Rolls], with some coppies of Deeds and other good notes concerning the Monastery of St. Werburgess. But it is much defaced, slubbered, worne, and many Leaves torne out, which makes it very imperfect. But what possibly I could gather I have, (as neere as I can) transcribed for future posterity, November, 1649."

Extracts from other deeds relating to the abbey, and:—  
Notes from a chartulary of St. Werburgh's.

17. *Collectanea*, from the Book of Evidences, *i.e.*, charters, formerly belonging the Monastery of St. Werburgh, in the possession of Richard Berkenhead, 1580 (Harl. MS. 2060). This volume also contains:—Excerpts from the Coucher Book of the abbot; collections from the *Cartæ Autographæ* belonging to the abbey, 1649; copies or extracts of original deeds relating to the abbey in the custody of John Edwards; copies or extracts of old writings concerning the abbey and *collectanea*, from the Abbot's Coucher Book, in the custody of the dean and chapter.

18. Notes by Willis, Sparke, and Cole, upon the abbey and cathedral (Add. MSS. 5828, 216; 5830, 206; 5836, 217).

19. Note of the erection of a monastery in the city of Chester (Harl. MS. 1989, 450).

20. Notes of the first building of churches, and the erection of a monastery in the city of Chester, and a succession of abbots and deans in the same, gathered by Mr. Robert Rogers (Harl. MS. 2159).

21. The succession of the abbots of St. Werburgh's Monastery from Richard, the first abbot, down to Thomas de Burch, who was made abbot there in 1289, according to the list found in an ancient parchment book in the monastery (Harl. MS. 1967, 170).

22. Another list of the succession of the abbots (Harl. MS. 1989, 452*b*).

23. Many notes of the second and third Randle Holmes put down with a view to compiling a series of the abbots of Chester (Harl. MS. 2071, f. 1).

24. Notes relating to the abbot of Chester's right to a postern gate in the walls of Chester, and also to another in the "Calyard" (Harl. MS. 2057, f. 1556).

25. King Edgar's charter to St. Werburgh's Abbey, 957[8] (Add. MS. 6032, f. 50b; Harl. MS. 1965, f. 3b).

This charter was reprinted by the editors of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* from an old copy in the possession of William Vernon, of Shakerly, co. Lancaster, gent., 1630, transcribed by Dugdale. I have printed it, from the oldest known copy, in the *Cartularium*, vol. iii., p. 245, and the following is the description and text:—

*Foundation Grant by King Edgar to St. Werburg's Abbey, Chester, of lands at Hodeslið or Hoseley, in Gresford, cos. Flint and Denbigh; Cheveley and Huntington, in the parish of St. Oswald, Upton, Aston, and Great Barrow, in Cheshire. A.D. (858 for) 958.*

[Omnip]otens pater Spes unica Mundi . fabricator celi . Con-  
ditor orbis . qui diem Titanis splendidissimi<sup>1</sup> radiis flagrantibus<sup>2</sup>  
lustrando percurrit<sup>3</sup> : Noctemque Cinthie jubaris splendore comit<sup>4</sup>.  
omnia nobis bona plus merito concedens donavit . vicemque aliis  
tam per ewangelicum<sup>5</sup> paradigma : quam per aliarum seriem  
scripturarum rependi precepit .

Quapropter ego EADGARUS<sup>6</sup> Regni Merciorum Christi favente  
gratia sublimatus ad culmina : pro expiatione anime mee meorum-  
que predecessorum Eadmundi videlicet incliti Anglorum Regis ꝥ  
genitoris mei : necnon ꝥ beate memorie Ethelstani ejusdem gentis  
Regis nobilissimi . dono ꝥ libenter concedo humili familie Deo  
omnipotenti In honore sacratissime<sup>7</sup> semperque virginis WER-  
BURGÆ in loco qui dicitur Leiacestria<sup>8</sup> assidue militanti quandam  
partem agrorum . Hoc est . xvii . manentium non in uno tamen<sup>9</sup>  
loco . set in diversis sparsim locis divisos<sup>10</sup> . quorum nomina hic  
tenentur inserta . que<sup>11</sup> sic vocantur HODESHLIꝥ<sup>12</sup> ꝥ Ceofan-

<sup>1</sup> -me, D.

<sup>2</sup> Flagrantib; MS.

<sup>3</sup> Procreavit, D.

<sup>4</sup> Comit, omitted, D.

<sup>5</sup> -lii, D.

<sup>6</sup> Edigarus, D.

<sup>7</sup> Sanctis., D.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., Chester.

<sup>9</sup> Tñ, MS.; tantum, D.

<sup>10</sup> Divisos, omitted, D.

<sup>11</sup> Qui, D.

<sup>12</sup> Hodeslid, D.; *Domesday Book*, Odeslei in Exestan Hundred, afterwards transferred to co. Flint (Ormerod, *Hist. of Ches.*, vol. i., p. 309); now Hoseley, in parish of Gresford, cos. Flint and Denbigh.

lea<sup>1</sup> ꝥ Huntingdun<sup>2</sup>. ꝥ Huptun<sup>3</sup>. ꝥ 'E'Astoñ<sup>4</sup>. ꝥ Barue<sup>5</sup>.  
ut habeant cum omnibus bonis ad illam terram pertinentibus. ꝥ  
sine ulla contradictione omni tempore jure hereditario possi-  
deant. ꝥ quicquid exinde facere voluerint liberam in omnibus  
potestatem habeant<sup>6</sup> faciendi. Est autem hæc terra circumcincta  
terminis ꝥc<sup>7</sup>. Sit<sup>8</sup> etiam hoc mee concessionis donum liberum  
ab omni aggravatione<sup>9</sup> secularis servicii ꝥ ab omni censu ꝥ ex-  
pedicionis profectione pontisque constructione et arcis munitione.

Si quis vero quod absit invidie<sup>10</sup> facibus succensus presumpti-  
bili elacionis fastu. hoc mee donacionis munimen frangere aut  
minuere voluerit. Sciat se reum omni hora vitæ suæ ꝥ tenebrosi  
Tartaris flammivomas<sup>11</sup> voragines in futuro non evadere nisi  
prius cum satisfactione pleniter emendaverit.

Actum est hoc mee concessionis donum Anno Dominice incar-  
nacionis. DCCC. LVIII. indictione vero. 1<sup>a</sup>. anno s<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> Regni mei  
in loco famoso qui dicitur Pencric<sup>12</sup>. Hii testes aderant qui hoc  
consenserunt. ꝥ subscripserunt ꝥ cum triumphali vexillo sancte  
crucis Christi firmaverunt ꝥ corroboraverunt.

Ego Eadgarus<sup>14</sup> Rex Merciorum ceterarum nacionum  
consensi<sup>15</sup> ꝥ scribere jussi. ꝥ cum signo sancte  
crucis firmavi ꝥ corroboravi.

[A.] MS. Harl. 1965, f. 3b (thirteenth cent.).

[D.] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* (new edit.), vol. ii., p. 384: "Ex vetusto  
exemplari penes Willielmum Vernon de Shakerley in com. Lanc. generosum,  
an. 1630."

[K.] Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, No. ccclxxiii.; from [D.].

<sup>1</sup> Ceosaula, D.; *Dom. Bk.*, Cavelea; Cheveley Manor, in the parish of St. Oswald, near Chester, *Survey t. H. VIII.*, in Dugd., *Mon. Angl.*, ii. 391.

<sup>2</sup> -don, D.; *Dom. Bk.*, Hunditone; *Valor Eccl.*, Huntynghon; Hunting-  
ton, in the parish of St. Oswald, near Chester, *l. c.*, ii. 391.

<sup>3</sup> -ton, D.; *Valor Eccl.*, Upton Manor, in Upton, near Chester, *l. c.*, ii. 391.

<sup>4</sup> Easton; *Valor Eccl.*, Aston, co. Derb.; Aston-upon-Trent, near Derby;  
but perhaps Aston-Sutton, co. Cest.

<sup>5</sup> Barue; Great Barrow, near Chester. <sup>6</sup> Habeant, omitted, D.

<sup>7</sup> Et metis, D. <sup>8</sup> Sit, omitted, D. <sup>9</sup> Aggregat., D.

<sup>10</sup> Invidie . . . hoc mee, omitted, D. <sup>11</sup> Flammineas, D.

<sup>12</sup> s<sup>o</sup>, omitted, D., for *secundo*.

<sup>13</sup> Wentric, D. Penkridge, co. Stafford, conjectured to be the ancient  
Pennocrucium on the Watling Street, is probably intended. The reading of  
D. seems to favour Windrush (old form Wenric, Wenrisc), co. Gloucester.

<sup>14</sup> Edgarius, D.

<sup>15</sup> Consensi, D.



Another copy of Edgar's charter founding the house of secular canons in the place called Leiacestr, in 958 (Harl. MS. 1967, f. 177).

Another copy of the foundation charter (Harl. MS. 2060, 66).

Another (Harl. MS. 2071, f. 3).

Transcript of the foundation charter (Lansd. MS. 447).

26. Notes taken from deeds formerly in the Abbey of St. Werburgh, by Randle Holme, as above (Harl. MS. 2149, 39).

27. A tract concerning the works of piety performed by Hugh, Earl of Chester, from 1093, chiefly in the foundation and endowment of the church and monastery of St. Werburgh (MS. Cotton Faustina, B. viii., f. 122).

28. The charter of Hugh, Earl of Chester, concerning the new foundation and endowment of the monastery to the use of the Benedictines, in A.D. 1093 (Harl. MS. 1967, f. 177*b*).

29. Extracts from a grant to St. Werburgh's, by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, of lands in Salthon, Sutton, etc., co. Chester (Add. MS. 6032, f. 89*b*).

30. The charter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, concerning the foundation of the church of St. Werburgh (Lansd. MS. 229, f. 121*b*).

31. A confirmatory charter of Ranulph II., Earl of Chester, to St. Werburgh's Abbey, from the original in the possession of John Edwards of Cheveley (Harl. MS. 2071, f. 106*b*).

32. List of the grants which the Earls of Chester, or their Barons, have granted or confirmed to the Abbey (Harl. MS. 1988, f. 145).

33. Bull of Pope Clement III. to St. Werburgh, A.D. 1188. For an account of this, see Latham's edition of

Gower's "Sketch" for a history of Chester (Harl. MS. 3868, ff. 294, 295; *cf.* Harl. 1965, f. 7*b*).

34. Excerpts from the charters of the monastery of St. Werburgh (Add. MS. 4793, p. 13).

35. Confirmation by Pope Gregory IX. made to the monks of Chester concerning the appropriation of the churches of Prestbury, Bruera, Neston, Eastham, Bum-borough, and Kirkby. And also in the same manuscript a notice concerning the grant of the churches of Bruera and Pulford to the monastery (Harl. MS. 2101, f. 202).

36. Agreement made between Simon [de Whitchurch], abbot of Chester, A.D. 1289, and the citizens of the same city, concerning the place where the annual fair of St. Werburgh should be held (Harl. MS. 2072, f. 28; *cf.* Harl. 2148, f. 28). This is an interesting record both for the city and the cathedral.

37. The text of a *Quo Warranto*, brought against the abbot of Chester in 27 Edw. 3. [1353] (Harl. MSS. 2115, f. 61).

38. Pleas in the county of Chester before Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, justiciary of Chester, on Tuesday before the feast of the Conception of the B. V. Mary, 16 Ric. II. [1392] (Harl. MSS. 1994, f. 262), copied by the elder Randle Holme, to whom we are all so deeply indebted for Chester records, out of an old roll lent to him by Dr. Bridgman, Dean of Chester, 1661. These relate to a suit between the Crown and Henry de Sutton, the abbot, respecting the right of presentation to all the churches appropriated to the abbey; upon supposition that Thomas de Newport, late abbot, with consent of the whole convent, had alienated them all to John de Delves and others, without consent of the Earl of Chester, the founder. At length, after much litigation, the cause went for the

defendant, and the Crown, who had seized the churches, restored them to the monastery.

The same volume contains a list of the tithes demesne which are called "le Bordland," of the parish of Kirkby appertaining to the use of the fabric of St. Werburgh's Church.

39. The presentments by a jury of a great riot made by Baldwyne of Rudyngstone, knight, and his accomplices, 18 Richard II. [1394-5], within the abbey of Chester, wherein they perpetrated many villanies for several days together, destroying and plundering the place, imprisoning some, injuring others, and killing one of the sheriffs. In this riot the ringleader was assisted by John de Stanley, knight, who raised no less than eight hundred armed men for his assistance (Harl. MS. 2057, f. 119*b*).

40. The "Great Charter of Confirmation of the Liberties of the Abbey," dated 4th July, 6 Henry V. [1418], copied from the original in the possession of John Edwards of Cheveley (Harl. MS. 2149, f. 182).

41. The charter whereby John, abbot of Chester, grants to Thomas, Earl of Derby, the office of seneschal or steward of the monastery, and all its manors, demesnes, etc., for the term of his life, with the wages or fees of forty shillings annually, and with proviso that the earl is not to interfere in any way with respect to the demising or granting of any of the manors and demesnes specified (Harl. MS. 2074, f. 238).

42. Copy of an award made between John, the abbot, and the mayor and citizens of Chester, 1 Henry VIII. [1509-10] (Harl. MS. 2071, f. 131; Harl. 1989, f. 454). The text is printed as a foot-note in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii. 375. Another copy of the award is contained in Harl. 1989, f. 452*b*, and would be valuable, failing the original deed, for the purpose of collation, if

ever these important documents, illustrating the history of your cathedral church, should be printed.

43. A deed whereby John, abbot of Chester, grants to Richard Grosvenor, of Eton, esquire, to make a weir in the river Dee, 6th September, 4 Henry VIII., 1512 (Harl. MS. 2022, f. 29*b*), is of interest to the noble owner of Eaton Hall. There are earlier fishing charters than this in the Museum concerning the river Dee.<sup>1</sup>

44. Original list or book of fines made by the tenants to the abbots of Chester, 28th August, 16 Henry VIII. [1524] (Harl. MS. 1994, f. 267). To it are added:—List of rents and receipts of the tithes of corn sheaves, etc., together with the expenses, wages, gifts, and payments to be made by the abbot. A rental of the lands and tenements which appertain to the keeper of the works of the monastery from Michaelmas, 29 Henry VI. [1450] for one whole year. The accompt of John Ley, prior of St. Werburgh's and warden, of the fabric and works of the monastery from Michaelmas 1 Henry VIII. (1509) for one whole year. Also the

Rental of all and singular the messuages, lands, etc., belonging to the monastery of St. Werburgh within the city and the suburbs thereof, made by Otuel Worsley, bailiff there, 30 Henry VIII. (1538); and

Bound up in the same volume, but belonging to a later time, is the rental of all and singular the manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all other possessions whatsoever of the late abbey of St. Werburgh, except the manors of Abbots Cotton, Church Langton, and Weston, surveyed by William Bolles, esquire, and John Wiseman, June, 32 Henry VIII. (1540). This is the first record which I

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<sup>1</sup> A number of interesting deeds, relating to the Dee and the right of fishing there, have been printed in the first volume of this Society's *Journal*, old series. The originals of these deeds are preserved at Eaton.

have mentioned after the dissolution. It is of interest as showing the state of the revenues of the monastery at the time.

45. The plan of the monastery buildings after the dissolution (Harl. MS. 2073) has been engraved by Lysons in his *Magna Britannia*.

Of great importance to a future historian of the dissolution of Chester Abbey, I may draw your attention to the following manuscripts in the British Museum.

46. A note of the dissolution of abbeys and of converting Chester into a cathedral church, placing there a dean and chapter instead of the abbot and convent (Harl. MS. 1989, f. 456).

47. Letters patent of Henry VIII. dated at Walden, 5 August, 33 Henry VIII. (1541), whereby he made the conventual church of Chester episcopal, and placed a bishop, dean, etc., therein (Harl. MS. 2071, 116 26).

48. Copy of the surrender made to Queen Elizabeth by the dean and chapter of Chester of all their lands and rents, being parcel of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of St. Werburgh (Harl. MS. 2103, f. 97).

49. Copy of the surrender of lands belonging to the late abbey to the Queen by the gentlemen fee-farmers, 30 Sept., 21 Elizabeth (1579) (Harl. MS. 2103, f. 123).

50. A note of such lands, tenements, tithes, rents, and other of the concealed possessions of the late dissolved monastery of St. Werburgh, now in the possession of the said dean and chapter, and not contained in Hitchcock's grant mentioned below (Harl. MS. 2060, f. 122).

51. Queen Elizabeth's grant of the dean and chapter lands to the fee-farmers, 19th Dec., 22 Eliz. [1579]. Printed in the *Monasticon*, ii. 378; footnote in Ormerod's *Hist.*, ch. i. 216.

52. Queen Elizabeth's letters patent, concerning the

erection of the bishopric and somewhat enlarging the endowment, 22nd Dec., 22 Eliz. [1579], (Harl. MS. 2071, f. 15*b*).

53. Articles whereof the late dissolved house of Chester found itself greived by the mayor and commonalty of the city (Harl. MS. 2057, f. 163*b*).

54. The last set of MSS. which I shall allude to in this series is a brief abstract of the lands and possessions belonging to the late Abbey of Chester since the suppression, proving thereby the same to have been concealed, withdrawn, or unjustly detained from the Queen's Majesty, or from her highness's father, brother or sister (Harl. MS. 2060, f. 90). The work consists of a narrative touching the dissolution of the monastery of St. Werburgh, and the foundation of the Cathedral Church of Christ, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Chester, by King Henry VIII., in the premises of whose letters patent the word *Cestrie* (although afterwards mentioned in the same) was omitted. It shows further how Sir Richard Cotton, comptroller of the royal household, procured the imprisonment of Dr. Cliffe, dean of Chester, and of two of the prebendaries, and by threats obliged them, being no lawful chapter, to grant him the fee farm of the greater part of their possessions at an annual rent less than the old rent by £100 yearly. Also how Richard Walker (1558), dean in succession to Cliffe, prosecuted this matter, but died (1567) before the sentence was given. Whereupon the Cottons, seeing their fee-farm to be void in law in order to replenish their funds and to strengthen their bad title, granted the greatest part of the same to sundry gentlemen in Cheshire for one or two years' rent paid beforehand. These latter, after several hearings, being likely to lose their cause, gave six years' rent to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and thus procured a commission that some of the Privy Council might hear the

case, whereby the right course of law was stopped, and then petition was made to the Crown for new grants of all the lands.

This important MS. contains the following papers bearing on the suit:—

1. Serjeant Popham's opinion to prove the king's patent of the dotation was void owing to the omission of the word *Cestrie*.

2. The judges' answer to the Earl of Leicester, who desired their opinion in this matter, December, 1576. (This is printed in the *Monasticon*, ii. 378, as a footnote, from MS. Harl. 2071.)

3. A brief abstract concerning the queen's grant of concealed lands in fee-farm to Peter and Edward Gray.

4. So much of the queen's letters patent as concerns the lands in Cheshire made over by the Grays to Lancelot Bostock and Francis Hitchcock.

5. A deed of purchase for Bostock and Hitchcock from the Grays, enrolled in the chancery.

6. The rental of all and singular the manors, lands, and tenements of the late abbey (except before excepted) by Bolls and Wyseman in June, 32 Henry VIII. (see No. 44).

7. The commission granted to the lords of the Privy Council to hear the cause between the dean and chapter and the fee-farmers.

8. The case for the dean and chapter.

9. The case for the fee-farmers.

10. The articles of the auditor of Cheshire's report to Sir Walter Mildmay touching the same.

11. Petitions of the fee-farmers to the commissioners.

12. The order set down by the commissioners.

13. The fee-farmers surrender to the queen.

14. Another surrender by the dean and chapter to the queen.

15. A note of the concealed lands sold and granted in fee-farm by Bostock and Hitchcock.

This is followed by further collectanea from the charters made in 1649.

Harl. 2016, 2103, 2071, 2060 contain a large number of papers relating to this matter, and these, with those which I have already described, practically contain the whole record of this remarkable case.

Sir Henry Ellis and his coadjutors, the learned editors of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, appear to have held the belief that the royal endowment of the cathedral was unfortunately void by the omission of the all-important word *Cestriæ* after the words "Concedimus Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Christi et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis." Nevertheless (they add), the dean and chapter continued to receive the rents for a considerable time, as if the lands had been properly granted. These writers also quote from Ormerod a long account of the dispute, which does not differ very materially from the account already given.

The British Museum, MS. department, contains several important copies of the statutes of the cathedral, but as this branch of the Chester records does not rightly fall under the title of this paper, I shall not proceed on this occasion any further on this point. I hope, however, at some future time to do for the later history of Chester Cathedral what I have here endeavoured to do for the monastic history, that is, to give the Chester Archæological and Historic Society some account of the principal MSS. relating to it in the British Museum.

You will also be pleased to know that the Museum, which contains all these Chester MSS., and highly values them, possesses, in addition to them, a valuable collection of charters illustrating the history and somewhat confused genealogy of the earls of Chester before that dignity was



merged in the Prince of Wales. Perhaps on a future occasion some of your members may like to hear a definite account of these charters, and an accurate print of the texts would supply deficiencies in the series which is already known to county historians and others interested in the research into the genealogy and life-history of the ancient family of the earls.

The editors of the *Monasticon* print several documents which bear upon the above series of monastic records of Chester Abbey. Among these are :—

1. Pope Clement's confirmation respecting the privileges and possessions of the monastery (see No. 33).

2. An agreement between the abbey and the citizens concerning a fair in the street near the abbey, 17 Edward I., A.D. 1289 (see No. 36).

3. A papal deed appointing an arbitration in the cause between Geoffry Blythe, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and John Birchenshaw, abbot of St. Werburgh, Chester, respecting the privileges and dignities of the abbot. Sealed under the seal of the Fisherman, 22nd December, 1516 (Cotton MS., Vitellius B. iii. 103).

4. Another deed by the above abbot, John Birchenshaw, granting the stewardship of the abbey to Thomas, Earl of Derby, 20th November, 1 Henry VIII., 1509 (Harl. MS. 2074, f. 238) (see No. 41), is also printed in full.

5. The collection in the *Monasticon* concluded with the text of the exchange between the king and the bishop, 20th September, 38 Henry VIII., 1546 (Harl. MS. 7389, p. 50), and the charter of endowment of the dean and chapter, 5th August, 33 Henry VIII., 1541 (Harl. MS. 2103, f. 102).

From these short notes respecting some of the manuscripts relating to St. Werburgh's Abbey in the British Museum, the Society will readily perceive how greatly the collection assists the church historian of Chester. I cannot

say what books and papers of a corresponding nature are preserved in the Chester Cathedral Chapter House or Muniment Room, or whether there are any at all of this kind. But whether the Museum records stand alone and unhelped by any in your city, or are merely supplementary to those which are deposited among you, there can be no doubt that they have a paramount importance to all, who are interested in the history of the ancient institution, which has stood the brunt of so many centuries.





## NOTES ON THE REGISTERS AND CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF ST. MICHAEL'S, CHESTER.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 17th December, 1888.)

RATHER more than twelve months ago I had the pleasure of reading before this Society a paper on "The Ancient Parish Books of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester,"<sup>1</sup> in which I directed special attention to the importance of the information to be obtained from the parish registers and particularly from the churchwardens' accounts, which commenced at an unusually early date. Since then, at the beginning of this session, the Rev. Mr. Cooper Scott read an interesting paper upon the churchwardens' accounts of St. John's,<sup>2</sup> and this evening I have been asked to give an account of the parish books of St. Michael's.

As already explained, the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's go back to the præ-Reformation times, to the year 1536, the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in vol. ii. of the Society's *Journal*, pp. 132-148.

<sup>2</sup> See *postea*.

Henry VIII., and from that early date to the present time they present a practically unbroken series. The registers, on the other hand, do not now begin till 1628, the earlier ones having unfortunately been lost. At St. John's, the earliest volume of churchwardens' accounts begins in 1633, a century later than St. Mary's, but it contains many items of interest in connection with the civil war and subsequent periods. The registers, I believe, begin in 1559.

The parish books of St. Michael's, on the other hand, occupy an intermediate position between those of St. Mary's and St. John's, as far at least as age is concerned. The registers begin in 1581, the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the churchwardens' accounts begin in 1560, the third year of that queen's reign. They are, therefore, twenty-four years later than St. Mary's, but over seventy years earlier than those of St. John's.

Of the early history of St. Michael's comparatively little is at present known. We have no knowledge by whom the church was built, and the first distinct reference to it, which is known, is in the foundation charter of Stanlaw Abbey, an abbey founded in Wirral Hundred, in the year 1173, but subsequently, in 1187, removed to Whalley, in Lancashire, where it became a very famous establishment, known far and wide as Whalley Abbey. The foundation of this abbey was due to John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and, in his charter founding it, he grants to the abbey certain premises in Chester, "*juxta ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis*," which clearly shows that the church was then existing seven hundred years ago.

Prior to this, however, about the year 1155, in a confirmation of the various churches and lands belonging to the Priory of Norton, in Cheshire, granted by King Henry II., there is mention of "the monastery of St.

Michael, in Chester, with one dwelling-house in the same city," which then belonged to that priory. Little is known of this "Monastery of St. Michael, at Chester," and it is possible that having been burnt down in the year 1118, as Bradshaw states, it fell into decay, and that St. Michael's Church, which may have been the church of the monastery, was alone kept up. The prior and convent of Norton are believed to have presented the various clergy, who officiated at St. Michael's, but, unfortunately, hardly one of their names has come down to us, and the history of the church to the middle of the sixteenth century may practically be said to be a blank. The chancel is said to have been built, or probably rather rebuilt, in 1494. The general appearance of the church, as it existed at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, is shown in the accompanying illustration, copied from a sketch made by one of the Randle Holmes, and now preserved in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 2073). As will subsequently be explained, it was rebuilt in this form in 1582.

The earliest volume of the St. Michael's registers is a narrow folio volume, of some thickness, which has been rebound in modern times in reddish brown calf. One half of the volume is parchment, the rest paper. It is closely and carefully written and is in good condition. The volume is lettered on the side "The Register of St. Michaels Parish, Chester, from 1581 to 1754." The entries are arranged under baptisms, marriages, and burials. Unlike the St. Mary's registers, there is a gap between March 10th, 1644[-5], and May 3rd, 1650, during which no entries were made.

The following entries are curious and seem to merit attention :—

1581, November. Rondulph Smith clericus [buried] 23 [day].

Mr. Smith's name occurs as minister or curate in the

Churchwardens' accounts from 1578, but he may have been at St. Michael's before that year.

1592, December. M<sup>rs</sup> Elizabeth Gamull buried 26 [day].

She was the widow of William Goodman, mayor of Chester in 1579, and at this time the second wife of Mr. Edmund Gamul, grandfather of Sir Francis Gamul. Edmund Gamul died in 1616.

1605, Nov. S<sup>r</sup> George Connye Buried at y<sup>e</sup> hospitall 8 [day].

George Coney succeeded Randle Smith as rector or minister, and he is given the title of "Sir," then in common use and generally signifying one who had taken the B.A. degree at one of the universities. I do not quite understand what building is alluded to under the name of "y<sup>e</sup> hospitall," but so the entry stands in the register. It may be that "the Hospitall of St. John's without the North-gate" may be intended, or "the Spittall House at Boughton."

1615, June. Lady Thimbelby Buryed 20 [day].

"The Lady Thimbleby" is first mentioned in the Churchwardens' accounts in the list of parishioners in 1597-8 and her name occurs regularly, year after year, till her death in 1615. She belonged, no doubt, to the Lincolnshire family of that name, but what brought her to live so many years in Chester I do not know.

1630, December. James a tawnie Moore Bur. 16.

1632, December. Petrus Leigh et Anna Burkenet. Nup. 12.

This Piers Legh was of Bruche, co. Lanc., Esq., some-time M.P. for Newton, a younger son of the celebrated Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, knt. She was his second wife, the daughter of Henry Birkenhead, of Backford, Esq. (see *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 305).

1633, September. Hugo Hollinshead et Maudlina Burkenet. Nup. 17.

Mr. Hugh Hollinshead was of Heywood, in the parish of Alderley, co. Chester, and his wife was another daughter of Henry Birkenhead, of Backford, Esq. (see *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 617).

1644-5, January. Carolus filius Christopheri Paslei cler. bap. 9.

The Rev. Christopher Pasley or Paslew, D.D., was a distinguished ecclesiastic, who was for some time rector of Hawarden (presented by Lord Strange on the 20th May, 1639), and who about this time had taken refuge in Chester. He was buried at St. Mary's in 1654.

There is a gap in the register from 1645 to 1650, but the Churchwardens' accounts are perfect for those years.

1651. S<sup>r</sup> Timothy ffetherston knt dyed 15 Oct.

Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, as his name should be written, was tried at Chester at the same time as the brave Earl of Derby, on the 29th September, 1651; but whilst the latter was ordered to be executed at Bolton, the former was beheaded at Chester and here buried.

1689. Ellenour daughter to the Lord Blaney of Dublin baptized May the twenty-sixth.

1693. Weston sonne of Captain Paris was buried the twenty-ninth day of October.

1694. Fardinando John Son to Captain Fardinando Parris was baptized March the thirty-first.

1695. Will<sup>m</sup> Portman of y<sup>e</sup> City of Worcester A.B. and Ann Mainwaring of y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Wibunbury in y<sup>e</sup> County of Chester were married by License (bearing date y<sup>e</sup> 30th of September) October the first.

1699. Elizabeth dau. of S<sup>t</sup> William Meredith Knight & Baronett.  
bur. 29 Sept.

Sir William Meredith lived at Henbury near Macclesfield, and an account of him, with a pedigree of his family, will be found in *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., pp. 419-21.

1700, Sept. 19. Martha-Maria the daughter of Thomas Tindal Esq<sup>r</sup> collector of his majestys customes for ye port of Chester was then baptized

1700 [-1], January 11<sup>th</sup>. Daniel Markes of Kettering in Northamptonshire clerk and Mary Ardern of Clayton bridge in Manchester parish in Lancashire spinster were married by license dat. 8 inst<sup>nt</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> kings tax to be p<sup>d</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> husband.

It would be interesting to know what brought these two persons so far from their homes to be married at St. Michael's?

1704, Aug. 27. M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hoghton gent & M<sup>rs</sup> Catharine Moor spinster both of St Mich<sup>ls</sup> parish married by a license dated Aug<sup>nt</sup> 21.

1705, July 12. Edward Norris of Speke in Lancashire D<sup>r</sup> of Physick & Esq<sup>r</sup> & Ann Gerrard of S<sup>t</sup> Mich<sup>ls</sup> in Chester Spinst<sup>r</sup> married by a license.

1708[-9], March 7. Dan<sup>l</sup> Dunbavand of Warrington apothecary & Elizab<sup>th</sup> Ashton of Penkett in Prescott Parish Spinst<sup>r</sup> married by a license of y<sup>e</sup> same date.

1710, Septemb. 21. Madam Mary Hoghton spinster of Hoghton Tower [in Lancashire] [buried].

She was the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Knt. and Bart., and the Lady Sarah, his wife, daughter of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield.

1711 [-12], March 18. William son of S<sup>t</sup> Henry Peirce Baron<sup>tt</sup> baptized.

1714 [-15], Jan<sup>ry</sup> 29. Owen Prythergh of Llanrhaydr in Kim-margh in Denbighshire clerk & Sarah Harvey of S<sup>t</sup> Michaels parish Spinst<sup>r</sup> by a licence of y<sup>e</sup> same date.



1716, Jan. 1. John Perrot of Tewksbury in Glocest<sup>r</sup>shire gentleman and Ann Hardware of Bromburrow spinster married by license of y<sup>t</sup> date

1718 [-19], Jan. 1. Charles Mainwaring of Turton in Lancashire gentleman & M<sup>rs</sup> Elizabeth Legh of S<sup>t</sup> Michaels parish in Chester spinst<sup>r</sup> by a license of Decemb. 31.

1718 [-19], January 5. John Evans gentleman a stranger and *comedian* buried.

1723, April 27. M<sup>rs</sup> Ann Hesketh of Rufford [in Lancashire] widow buried.

1724 [-5], January 30. M<sup>rs</sup> Elizabeth Brooks, spinst<sup>r</sup> a Stranger, [buried].

1724 [-5], March 16. M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Brooks spinst<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Strangers sister [buried].

1729, Nov. 18. John Weldon Armiger or Captain, of S<sup>t</sup> Michaels parish & Mary Glynn of y<sup>e</sup> parish of S<sup>t</sup> Brigitt Spinst<sup>r</sup> by license.

The lady here married was possibly one of the Glynnns of Hawarden.

1735, Nov. 23. Holcomb and ffrances, son and daughter of James Christian *Landskip painter* [baptized.] [Holcomb was buried 5 Dec.]

1741, July y<sup>e</sup> 8. Colonel William Beckworth [buried].

1768. Zeba Desaubrie Buried January 6.

1787. Robert Bulkeley Esq. from or near London. Dec. 19, buried.

1803. Thomas Hughes *the City Huntsman* is mentioned.

With these entries I must, for the present, conclude my extracts from the St. Michael's registers, but their number might be very considerably augmented with but little trouble. Situated as St. Michael's is at the very entrance to the city from the south side, and almost the first church which was reached by those coming into the city from North Wales, it seems to have been a very favourite church for the celebration of marriages, particularly of those of

persons coming from a distance. Several instances of this have already been given. After the year 1700, the entries of the marriages are very numerous, sometimes being more than thirty in a single year.

The registers contain entries relating to the following families, all of whom occupied positions of more or less importance in the parish: Hurleston, Goodman, Ball, Thorp, Aldersey, Fitton, Philips, Fletcher, Leicester, Harper, Golborne, Sir Humphrey Briggs, Knt. and Bart., 1652 to 1659; Rocke, Gregge, Buckley, Bridge, Lloyd, Salisbury, John Tylston, M.D.; Edwards, Comberbach, Barnston, &c., &c. The later volumes of the registers, after 1754, are well kept and contain many entries of interest and importance.

It is now time to leave the registers and to devote some attention to the Churchwardens' Accounts. Last year, when describing those belonging to the parish of St. Mary-on-the-Hill,<sup>1</sup> I spoke of the value they possessed as exhibiting to us the form of worship, which was carried on in the parish churches of Chester, as also throughout England, prior to the Reformation, and during the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. As there pointed out, up to the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, the ritual used in that church was that of Roman Catholicism, and this continued till about 1550, the third year of Edward VI. (whose reign began in 1547), when the reformed religion was introduced and great changes took place. In 1553 the city was visited by the commissioners appointed by the Privy Council: John [Bird], bishop of Chester; Thomas Smith, mayor of the city; Sir Lawrence Smith, knight; and Roger Hurleston, gentleman; the latter being most probably a resident in St. Michael's parish. Their duties

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 132-148.

were to enquire as to "all and singular the copes, vestments, chalices, ornaments, and goodes" of all and every the churches and chapels within the city, and an inventory, now preserved in the Record Office, London, was made of all such as had been sold and such "of the chalices, copes, and vestments of cloth of gold" which they had received, and retained for the king's use as well as "such goods, crosses, plate or bells" as had been sold or stolen by the parishioners or others. The following is the return for St. Michael's (the spelling being modernised):—

"The inventory of all the goods, chalice[s], and bells delivered by the King's Majesty's Commissioners unto William Ball and Thomas Monkesfeld, churchwardens, there and by them safely to be kept without alteration, alienation, or embezzlement until the king's highness' further pleasure be therein known.

"First, one chalice with a paten for the same, over gilt 'ponderous' [or weighing] 18 ounces.

"Two vestments of green and red satin, now altered into a carpet for the pulpit.

"Two albs.

"Four towels.

"Three bells in the steeple.

"All the books now used in the church.

"Two chests or coffers.

(Signed)      WILLIAM BALL,  
                    THOMAS MONKESFELD."

The various articles, "copes, vestments, ornaments, and other goods" belonging to the parish which the commissioners had sold realised only 15s. 9d., a very great contrast to those of St. Mary's, which had sold for £10. 13s. 6d., thereby showing how richly endowed and how important the latter church was.

This was in May, 1553. In July of that year the young king died, and Queen Mary succeeded, and the Roman Catholic ritual at once revived. Many of the vestments

and ornaments formerly in the church would no doubt be restored to it and once more used as in times gone by. Unfortunately, we have no records of this period as far as St. Michael's is concerned, as the churchwardens' accounts do not commence till 1560.

Queen Mary died in November, 1558, and it is now that the interest and value of these early accounts become apparent. The bulky folio volume, now exhibited in its original binding of thick oaken boards, covered with black leather, and formerly fastened by two broad clasps, begins with the accounts of the churchwardens elected on the 21st April, 1560. And what do we find? Here in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, that Protestant Queen of England, in whose reign the Roman Catholic ritual finally disappeared from all the churches in the land, we find a long list of "implements" and vestments belonging to St. Michael's Church, which were handed over from the outgoing churchwardens to the new ones. This list is such a lengthy one that a copy of it occupies nearly three folio pages, and what is still more interesting, the list of the articles handed over in 1564 is practically identical with that of 1560. Thus it is perfectly clear that in this church, at any rate, for the first six years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the vestments and ornaments, which had been in use in the reign of Queen Mary and in that of Henry VIII., and for centuries prior to him, were still existing and may or may not have been employed in the regular course of the services. It is not till the year 1565 that we find the list of the "parcels," as they are quaintly termed, "which the parish hath sold," and after that there is no further mention of any copes, albs, and other vestments in connection with the church.

I am anxious to direct special attention to this point, because, curiously enough, there is nothing in the church-

wardens' accounts of St. Mary's which would lead any one to imagine that the old ecclesiastical vestments and other articles were by any possibility permitted to remain in the possession of the parish throughout the first six years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Of course it may be said it is only an assumption that they were used in the ordinary services, but if not used why were they retained? Unfortunately, too, the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's and these of St. Michael's, neither of which have ever been previously examined, as far as I am aware, by any antiquary, are now the *only* ones remaining in any of the parishes in Chester, which go back prior to the seventeenth century. True it is that those of Holy Trinity, going back to 1532, were in existence in the time of Randle Holme, the second, who made a very full series of extracts from them, but the originals cannot now be found, and hence the early records of St. Mary's and St. Michael's are so valuable and instructive and deserve to be most carefully preserved.

If we turn to the list of the "implements" and vestments handed over to the new churchwardens elected on the 23rd April, 1564, we find the following articles, amongst others, the spelling being modernised:—

A silver and gilt chalice, weighing eighteen ounces.

A cope of scarlet, embroidered.

A vestment of green satin of Bruges.

Another red vestment of say and all things belonging thereto.

Two banners. Three altar cloths of linen cloth.

A painted cloth, which covered the rood.

The best frontal [for the altar] of yellow satin of Bruges with a fringe belonging to the same.

Three other frontals. Three flaxen towels and a golden cushion.

A cross of brass. Two sacring bells and two cruets.

A painted cloth of the twelve apostles.

An old canvas cloth, which was next the stone altar.

A cear cloth of red branched work.

The Bible, with a book of Erasmus.

A Communion Book, and a Book of the Homilies in the passion week.

A Judas of wood "that the candeles was stikte on."

A Judas that the pascal [the large candle made at Easter] stood on.

A staff that the pascal was made on.

Thirteen small pascal staves.

Three coffers, and the poor man's box.

A frame that was the Sepulchre.

An altar stone that is in the coffer.

A coffer in the rood loft.

Four stumps of torches. A cake of wax weighing 13lb.

A holy water stone. A brasen censer and a pax.

A small sanctus bell. Six small brass rods.

A holywater bucket of brass, a cross staff of brass and the banner of the cross.

Truly a very curious catalogue for the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign!

Many of these are recorded as being sold in the following year 1565, and no "vestments" beyond the ordinary "surplices," belonging to the rector or minister, are subsequently recorded or alluded to. It may be added that in the old accounts of Trinity parish there was a list of the vestments in that church in 1560, but apparently none of any later date.

The churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's are also very valuable for another reason, and that is because from the earliest date, 1560, they contain, year by year, full lists of the names of all the inhabitants in the parish, with the amounts which each contributed to the church "lay." They thus become almost a directory of this part of Chester from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is very notable that in the early part of the seventeenth century

many persons of good rank and position are found residing in the parish. Thus, in 1610, the list begins:—

Mr. Edmund Gamull alderman	- - - - -	4s.
Mr. Philip Philips alderman	- - - - -	3s. 4d.
Mr. William Leycester alderman	- - - - -	3s.
Mr. Grosvenor Esq.	- - - - -	2od.
Mrs. Hurleston	- - - - -	4s.
Mrs. Aldersey	- - - - -	4s.
Mr. Kendrick ap Evan alderman	- - - - -	2s.
Mrs. Knight	- - - - -	15d.
Mr. Thomas Throppe	- - - - -	2s.
Mr. Charles Fitton	- - - - -	12d.
Mr. Edward Gregge.		
Mr. William Holland.		
Mr. Robert Fletcher.		
Mrs. Conway.		

and the list of the other inhabitants not styled "Mr." or Mrs. occupies three pages.

Some thirty-five years later, the list of important names, for the year 1644-5, when the registers cease to be kept, is as follows. Possibly some of the persons here named had come to reside in Chester owing to the Civil War:—

Sir Richard Grosevenor.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Richard Grosevenor.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Throppe Ald<sup>r</sup>man.  
 The Lady Wilbram.  
 S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Carie.  
 M<sup>r</sup> . . . Bavand.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Henry Harpur.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Allin in M<sup>r</sup> Gregges house.  
 M<sup>r</sup> William Parnill.  
 M<sup>r</sup> James Reade.  
 M<sup>rs</sup> Margaret Gregory.  
 M<sup>r</sup> John Sproston.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Garrard Jones.  
 M<sup>rs</sup> Chenie.

Pepper Street.

M<sup>r</sup> John Wright & Doc<sup>tor</sup> Wollie.<sup>1</sup>

M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Capper.

M<sup>rs</sup> Taylor.

M<sup>rs</sup> fitton in Hunts house.

The following extracts from this old volume of accounts have been selected because of their quaintness, or as illustrating the customs and habits of the times. The spelling has been modernised :—

1568.

Received more of Mr. Thomas Lynial for the timber that we sold him the 15th day of December, 1568, that was of the rood loft and the vaults [or vaulting] over the two altars, the sum of - - - - -	3s. 4d.
Paid for rushes [to cover the floor of the church] - -	6d.
Paid more for the pulpit - - - - -	8s.

1569.

Paid for a quart of claret wine on Palm Sunday - -	4d.
Received of Roger Lynialls wife for christening, churching, and "cryssom" - - - - -	8d.

This is a very interesting entry, the "cryssom" being the white baptismal robe, with which, in mediæval times, the child was enveloped when christened. If the child died within a month of its baptism, it was not unfrequently buried in this "chrisom," and was then called "a chrisom child," and is so recorded in some early registers.

Here are other entries in the same year :—

Received of Robert Monksfeld for a "cryssom" - -	2d.
Received of Sir John Savage for the alabaster stone -	26s. 8d.
Received at the marriage of Richard Whitehead - -	13d.
Received of the young men and maidens at Easter -	5s. 2d.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Dr. Edward Wolley, the well-known Royalist divine, of whom an account is given in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. ii., pp. 391 and 394.



1570.

Received for the coffer of the cappers [company]	
which was then in the church - - - - -	12d.

1572.

Paid for 2 pound and a half of wax to make 8 tapers	
to set in the quire - - - - -	2s. 1d.
Paid for the making of the same - - - - -	7d.
Paid for 3 quarters of a pound of wax candles to serve	
the church - - - - -	9d.
Paid for two pounds of tallow candles - - - - -	7d.
Paid to the clerk when they rang throughout the	
city for the Queen's grace - - - - -	12d.

1578.

Received for lead 220lbs. which was found in the	
cross when it was taken down - - - - -	18s.
Received of Mr. Cowper for his license to permit him	
to eat flesh [in Lent] being sick - - - - -	6s.
Paid for taking down the cross - - - - -	20d.

In the year 1582 the church appears to have been almost entirely rebuilt, the accounts for the same, very clearly written, occupying six folio pages. One of the items refers to the building of the steeple and "a chamber to the church." This is very clearly shown in the view of the church given in the illustration from a sketch made by one of the Randle Holmes early in the seventeenth century, and now preserved in the British Museum. The steeple evidently of wood and "the chamber" built out at the west end overhanging the Row, and no doubt uniform with it, are clearly shown. This chamber or living-room was built in the black and white timber and plaster style, and was approached from the outside by the flight of steps shown in the drawing. It is quite possible that the rector or curate who officiated in the church lived in this "chamber,"

for at this time he was only receiving the stipend of £8 a year, paid to him quarterly by the churchwardens!

The curious word "laystall" or "leastall," which puzzled me when I first met with it in the St. Mary's churchwardens' accounts, is commonly employed in this volume and was clearly a word then in ordinary use. It means "a burial place," and part of the income of the churchwardens was derived from the payments made for the "laystalls" or burial places in the church or churchyard, and also for the various "kneeling places" allotted to the parishioners.

1566. Received for a laystall for Mr. Manley, priest 12d.  
 1595. Received of Mr. John Vaughan, vicar of  
 Abergeley, for his child's leystall - - - - 2s.

This, I may add, is an interesting find, as it records the name of a vicar of Abergele hitherto unknown.

1615. Received for ye leastall of my Lady Thimblebye 6s. 8d.

Continuing the extracts from the churchwardens' disbursements the following are noteworthy:—

1597.

- Paid to Robert Leech for writing stories upon the  
 walls and laying colour upon the church door - - 7s. 4d.  
 Paid for hollins [at Christmas] - - - - - 6d.

1602.

- Paid to Mr. Coney, the minister, for his whole year's  
 wages - - - - - £8.  
 Paid on the 5th of June at the visitation [of the  
 bishop] - - - - - 16d.  
 Spent then upon the minister, the [4] sworn men, and  
 ourselves - - - - - 2s.  
 Paid for cotton candles - - - - - 16d.  
 Paid for holly and ivy to dress the church at Christmas 12d.  
 Paid for ringing at eight of the clock in the evenings  
 and at four of the clock in the mornings for 3  
 quarters - - - - - 5s.

1606.

Paid for a gallon of sack the third of August bestowed on the Lord Bishop - - - - - 3s. 4d.

1607.

Paid for ringing 'day bell' and 'corfett' [curfew] for the whole year - - - - - 10s.

1609.

Paid to Randle Holmes for laying the pulpit and the cover in colours and gilding the "bobbes" - - - 10s. 4d.

With these few extracts I am afraid I must for the present be content, for this paper is already sufficiently long.

In conclusion, I would only say that I trust I have shown that these ancient Churchwardens' Accounts are full of quaint and curious information as well as of particulars relating to local and family history, which cannot be found elsewhere. And it is therefore most important that they should be well cared for, and that all risk of their being lost or destroyed should be avoided. And yet, as every one who has had to do with local history knows, how frequently is it the case that such valuable books as these get lost or mislaid. In fact, this very volume of churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's was found thickly covered with dust at the bottom of an old box in the upper part of the belfry, which was only to be reached by climbing up a very steep and by no means comfortable wooden ladder. There it and many later volumes of accounts had reposed for many long years, known, I believe, to hardly any one, and certainly never looked at by any one from year's end to year's end. It is not a wonder they have not long since disappeared altogether, as have those of the neighbouring parishes of St. Bridget's and St. Martin's.

And if I might venture to make the suggestion, I would like to ask, why should not these old books and any others,

which may from time to time be found in this ancient city of Chester, be deposited in the library of this Society, where they could be calendared and labelled, and where they could always be examined by those interested in investigating the history of the past, and where there would be no risk of their ever being lost. A receipt could be given for them to the churchwardens, and they would always be accessible, if wanted for purposes of reference in connection with local charities, &c., &c. I believe that if this were done it would be the means of preserving to future generations many most interesting local records, which otherwise run great risk of loss or destruction.

To take one example only, and that relating to St. Michael's parish. As already explained, the earliest volume of accounts, that exhibited this evening, begins in 1560. And yet, when Hemingway wrote his *History of the City of Chester*, in 1831, he refers to and makes a few quotations from a "MS. which appears to have been a book for the account of receipt and expenditure of the church revenue" of St. Michael's, and which was then "in the possession of Mr. Leacroft, solicitor of this city." And as the extracts he gives relate to the time of Edward VI., it would almost seem as if we had there the volume of churchwardens' accounts *preceding* this one, and probably dating back to pre-Reformation times, the discovery of which would be of the greatest possible interest and importance. Does any one know who now represents Mr. Leacroft<sup>1</sup> or his firm,

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<sup>1</sup> Enquiries made since this paper was read tend to the belief that there is little or no hope of recovering this important early volume of accounts. Mr. Leacroft has been dead for many years, and it is believed that his papers have been long since dispersed. His burial is thus entered in the St. Michael's Registers:—

1836. Thomas Leacroft (formerly Dicas), solicitor, of this parish, buried December 30th, aged fifty-six years.

and is it in any way possible to recover this volume, which was certainly in existence as late as 1831, rather over fifty years ago? And if, by any good fortune, it can be recovered, may I add the expression of my earnest hope that it will then be handed over to the care of the Society, so that all risk of its being lost may become impossible. There was no "Chester Archæological Society" in 1831, but as there is one now, it is its bounden duty to do all in its power to preserve and take care of the priceless relics of the past, which are still in existence, but which generation by generation are becoming fewer and fewer.



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CENTURY OF OCRATIUS MAXIMUS.



CENTURY OF QUINTIUS MAXIMUS.



CENTURY OF QUINTUS TERENTIUS.



CENTURY OF TERENTIUS ROMANIS.

CENTURIAL STONES, FOUND IN CHESTER.



## ON THE RECENT FIND OF A CENTURIAL STONE IN CHESTER.

BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

*(Read 19th November, 1888.)*

**D**URING the past summer, while excavations were going on in the rear of the premises of Messrs. Lamont and Son, in Eastgate Street, some massive foundations were met with, evidently much older than the structure above. Many of the stones had the appearance of having once belonged to some of the Roman buildings of Deva, like the courses of masonry discovered, in 1884, on the property of Mr. Bullin, in White Friars, which proved to be the foundations of the monastery of the White Friars, built almost exclusively of Roman material.<sup>1</sup>

Among the stones met with in Eastgate Street, on the occasion referred to above, there was found one with an inscription, which I now describe. It belongs to the class known as "Centurial stones," of which we have at present five in number found in Chester. These relate to,

1. The Century of ABVCINVS.
2. Do. QVINTIVS MAXIMVS.
3. Do. OCRATIVS MAXIMVS.
4. Do. QVINTVS TARENTIVS.
5. Do. TARENTIVS ROMANIS.

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal* of this Society, N.S., vol. i., p. 198.



The last mentioned is the stone found in Eastgate Street. When these stones were first discovered, there was some doubt as to the use for which they were designed. Antiquaries were divided in opinion. The discovery, however, of several of them *in situ*, along the great wall of Hadrian, and also at the larger Roman castra, as in the multangular tower in York, has brought out pretty clearly the purposes which they were intended to serve, which are as follows:—

1st. They indicate that a body of Roman soldiers, namely, a *centuria*, composed of one hundred men, under the command of a centurion, whose name occurs on the stone, were once located at, or near the place in question as long as the stone was *in situ*. Thus, in the tower referred to at York, ten of these inscriptions were to be seen, indicating that that number of *centuriæ* had at one time or another been stationed at that particular locality. To come to later times, I doubt not that the rocks along the valley of the Nile bear epigraphic evidence of the passage of the British forces on their way to the Soudan, but possibly of a less permanent character.

2nd. Another use for the stone would be to mark the particular location of the *centuria* in the *castrum*. A stone of this kind might have been erected at the beginning and end of their quarters in camp.

3rd. Again, these stones tell us of a certain amount of work done by the particular *centuria*, it may be the building of a wall or tower, by the addition of the word *FECIT* variously contracted. Or, as it has often happened, they record the fact that the *centuria* was engaged in building or repairing a certain amount of the wall in which the stone was found.

This use we may illustrate by a stone found in Manchester, which states that the century of Quintianus, of the

first cohort of the Frisians, built twenty-four feet, presumably, of the wall.

COHR , I ,  
FRISIANO  
>QVINTIANI  
P . XXIII

Similarly, we have one of our own centurial stones, referring to the completion of one thousand feet of the wall by the century of Ocratius Maximus.

Coming now to the latest addition to our group of Chester centurial stones, we have the recent find in East-gate Street, in which in a sunk panel a two-line inscription may be read, but not without some difficulty. It reads, as determined by Professor Hübner, of Berlin:—

CHOR . III  
>TER . RO

Or expanded, Cohortis tertius Centuria Terentii Romani; that is, the century of Terentius Romanis, of the third cohort of the Twentieth Legion, the latter being understood.

I have only to add that the stone is thirteen inches long, by eight wide, and eight and a half deep, and that Messrs. Lamont and Son have very courteously presented it to the Society's Museum.





## EXTRACTS FROM THE CHURCH- WARDENS' ACCOUNTS AND VESTRY MINUTES OF ST. JOHN'S, CHESTER.

BY THE REV. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A., VICAR OF ST. JOHN'S.

*(Read 29th October, 1888.)*

THE history of a parish church, if we follow out the lines which are suggested to us by the entries in parish books and registers, becomes a history of the neighbourhood in which the church is situated, a history of the families which surround it, a history of the city where it stands, of the events which have marked the history of the Church of England, and indeed a history of the country in which we live.

The churchwardens' books of St. John's begin in the year 1633, and continue in an unbroken record to the present day. These books contain the signatures of men who played important parts in the civic history as well as in public life. The name of Ric<sup>d</sup> Throppe, which is impressed upon the cover of this book as churchwarden at the time its entries begin, is the name of one of that group of disheartened Royalists who accompanied King Charles I. as he left the city by the Dee bridge, on the 25th September, 1645, after the outworks were taken, and the city itself threatened with immediate destruction. The signature

of Charles Walley, which appears frequently as chairman of vestry, is the signature of the man who was Mayor of Chester when the Parliamentary troops poured through the breaches made in the outworks, and, rushing down Foregate Street, surged around St. John's Church, and were beaten back only by the city walls. Charles Walley lived in Foregate Street, and had a pew in St. John's; his house was sacked, and the sword and mace, which had perhaps been carried before him often to St. John's Church, captured, and sent as trophies to the House of Commons in London. So I might multiply instances to show how the history of a parish is interwoven with the history of a city, a county, and a state.

The vestry meetings, of which full minutes are given in these books, were very important gatherings. Sometimes as many as thirty or forty signatures, many of them the signatures of persons of importance, are attached to the proceedings. They were the local boards of the day; guardians of highways and of the poor, the layers of rates, and the spenders of the ratepayers' money; they levied rates in time of war for providing a certain number of men to serve in the army, and for ships and men for the navy, and they made provision for the wives and families of soldiers and volunteers.

At the Easter vestry meetings there were appointed churchwardens, sidesmen, or swornmen, auditors, guardians of the poor, and pew commissioners, for placing or displacing the people in church (or, as they might have written it, for pleasing or displeasing the people). These commissioners appear to have taken precedence of the churchwardens, whose thankless office it is to seat the parishioners. They were appointed regularly down to the time of the restoration of the church, about thirty years ago. Two letters remain from bishops of Chester, one in 1708 from Bishop Dawes, and



From the accounts for Sacramental wine, always kept separate from the other accounts, we find that it was customary to celebrate Holy Communion ten or twelve times in the year, but always on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Day; there is not an entry for wine on Christmas Day. In the year 1641, there is an entry to the joiner for mending the communion table and taking away the rails, 2s. Is this evidence of Puritan influence? Archbishop Laud had the Holy Table placed against the east wall of the chancel and railed round. Perhaps this entry is evidence of its having been taken into the body of the chancel, in accordance with Puritan sympathies.

In the case of a church of the importance of St. John's, standing without the walls, it is impossible that the events of 1644-1645 should have passed without leaving their mark in many ways. In September, 1642, Charles I. came from Nottingham, by Shrewsbury, to Chester. The churchwardens paid the ringers, "when the king came to Chester, 1s. 6d." In 1643, the siege began in earnest. The earthworks were carried from the river, by the Dee Lane and Bars, round by Upper Northgate Street, and down to the river again by the Water Tower. These were fiercely defended, and sorties constantly made by the Royalists of Chester against the Parliamentary troops, under Sir W. Brereton, himself a citizen, but offended with his fellow citizens. It appears that this Brereton had a spite against the citizens, because they had assessed some land of his, called the "Nunnery lands," which were supposed to be free from rates, and had assessed them for the payment of the hateful "Ship money." We find in July, 1643, he met with a great repulse, and there was paid by the churchwardens of St. John's "to the ringers, for the king's victory, 2s." Perhaps the ringers watched the conflict from the tower, and rang a triple bob major (if they had such

things then) in triumph; perhaps they were themselves helping to man the earthworks, and, when released by the return of the victorious citizens, ran in hot haste to tell the city the news in a joyous peal.

The wardens were prudent as well as liberal. A few days afterwards appears, "paid for taking down the ladders from the tower and carrying them within the walls, 9s.," and now no one could mount above the bell-ringing chamber to view the city, or make use of the tower for purposes of attack.

In 1644, the ringers were paid "for the king's victory in Lancashire, 2s.;" for ringing, "when Liverpool was taken, 2s.;" "for victory over the Earl of Essex, 2s.;" and again "for the king's victory, 2s." In 1643, they were paid, "ringing for the victory at Middlewich, 2s. 6d."

In 1644, Prince Maurice came to Chester, and issued a precept to the Mayor and other Commissioners to tender a protestation or test to the inhabitants of the city, in which they declared their loyalty to the king. The churchwardens of St. John's "paid for a book to take the names of those who took the test, 6 pence."

It was customary, in accordance with the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, for the principal parishioners to perambulate the parish boundaries on Holy Thursday or Ascension Day. On these occasions they appear to have had a dinner together: "Pd For the minister's dinner, and our own, when we went the perambulation, 4s.;" and again, "Spent, when we went the Perambulations, 4s.," is an entry which occurs in the year 1645. How they could have walked the bounds of the parish, which extended to Bishopsfields and Far Boughton (to White House), when the city was surrounded by the enemy, it is difficult to explain. Either the troops were drawn off for a time on some expedition, or the churchwardens took the walk as done, stayed at home, and eat the dinner.

In September, 1645, the troops from Beeston, after a forced march by night, took the outworks, and the whole of St. John's parish lay at their mercy. We can guess the state of things. The people driven within the walls, the Foregate Street in flames, Boughton destroyed, the church used as a shelter or base of operations against the walls; the principal attack was made against that part of the wall which runs through St. John's parish, from Eastgate to Newgate. The parish accounts are kept, but there can have been no services in the church. The entries for wine for Holy Communion cease in the month of September, 1645, and there are no entries under this head in 1646. The year's expenses were £8. 16s.

On February 3rd, 1645-6, the city surrendered; we find "paid for a part of the Clock unto the soldiers 2s. 6d." The account of the siege is given by Randle Holme, in so graphic and pathetic a manner, that we are made to wish we had more of his wonderful MSS. in print.

The entries in years succeeding the siege, show that it was a long time before the church was restored to anything like order and decency.

1646. "Payd for nails for the Church door, the pulpit, the minister's seat, Mr. Maior's seat, 8s. 6d."

"P<sup>d</sup> Carpenter for making the staves to the pulpit, 10s. 4d."

"P<sup>d</sup> for making two petitions, one to Mr. Maior & the other to the Committee for a collection to repair the Church, 2s."

"P<sup>d</sup> Thomas Lyall towards the gates, & a new board and a cover for the table in the Chancell, £3."

"P<sup>d</sup> David Dobb for repairing the way to the Meeting House."

This was either St. James's parish church, which stood at the south side of the church, and was used as a meeting house for the Tanners' Company, or the Hermitage, used



for the same purpose by the Shoemakers' Company. The seats in church were all destroyed.

"P<sup>d</sup> Carriage of forms from the Cathedral to St. John's & drawing a petition, 3s."

An entry, "P<sup>d</sup> for a Quart of Burnt Sack to welcome Mr. Ball to Chester, 2s.," is supposed to refer to the arrival of a new minister, to take the place of one turned out. In 1645, there is a memorandum by the churchwardens:—

"Paid unto Mr. George Burches, minister, before his quarterage came to be collected, in regard of his necessity, the sum of £1. 5s."

This seems to show the miserable condition into which the vicar of St. John's was brought in those troublous times. Poor Mr. Burches disappears from the scene; perhaps heart broken at the devastation of his church, and the poverty and misery he endured. Perhaps he was ejected to make room for this Mr. Ball. In the printed list of vicars of St. John's, Mr. Ball has hitherto found no place, John Pemberton succeeding to George Burches in 1650, so that between 1645 and 1650 we have only Mr. Ball to fall back upon.

Now, the parish had to buy a new piece of church furniture, whether in mercy to themselves or Mr. Ball you must judge.

"P<sup>d</sup> for an houre glass, 9d."

Perhaps an entry like the following, refers to some one of the lawful clergy ejected and persecuted by the Parliament:—

"P<sup>d</sup> Given unto a banished minister, by Mr. Ball's appointment, that came out of prison."

Is the following entry to be taken as evidence that care was taken to show contempt for the ordinances of the church?—

“P<sup>d</sup> for 3 quarts of sack given on the fast days to Mr. Ball, 5s.”

Expenses for year 1647, £6. 17s. 11d. only.

Although Mr. Ball does not appear among the list of vicars, as printed in the local histories, there is evidence that he occupied an important position in the parish. In 1648, the less important parts of church furniture were brought in:—

“P<sup>d</sup> for a frame for the cittie sword, 3s.”

“For drawing Mr. Maior's arms paid to Mr. Holme, 2s.”

This was one of the celebrated Holme family. The mayor was again a parishioner, and came in state to church, the city sword and mace having been returned to Chester by this time. In this year there is—

“Spent on the gentlemen when we went to Mr. Maior about the £50 for the minister, 3s.”

In 1650, the people were seated again in church, but the frequent erasures and alterations, show that the commissioners found their task no easier than before. John Pemberton now appears as vicar; he signs “pastor” after his name. In this year the churchwardens received from the deputy receiver general, the sum of £21. 6s. 8d. for the minister of St. John's, but they seem uncertain who was the person lawfully authorised to receive it; the parishioners give them an indemnity, in case they are called upon, to refund the money. This £21. 6s. 8d. was the money left from the endowments of the college, when Edward VI.'s Commissioners took care of the rest for the good of their country, to pay a vicar and his assistant to

perform the services of the church. The first vicar and his assistant were selected from among the clergy who were ministering in the College and Chantries, at the time of the dissolution. So far from the old endowments being handed over to any new made church, as is so often stated, we find two of the priests actually employed in the services of the college, appointed to perform the service according to the use of the Prayer Book of Edward VI.'s time.

This payment the vicar now receives; it is made to the "preacher of St. John's," and comes from the Consolidated Fund. It puzzled me a good deal, (not unpleasantly) until I learnt its origin. I find a document which shows that it was made a charge upon the revenues of the Earldom of Chester, and was acknowledged by George, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, who, in 1717, ordered his auditor to pay all arrears due.

Before I pass on to further payments by churchwardens, I must take you to the Parish Registers. The Parliament passed an ordinance in 1644 forbidding the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in any place of worship in England and Wales, and a further ordinance forbade the use of it even in private houses; all copies of the book were to be given up to be burned. Penalties were imposed for disobedience to this tyrannical order: £5 for first offence, £10 for second, imprisonment for a third.

*The Directory for Public Worship*, issued in its place, was to be used under penalty of 40s., and any one who preached or wrote against it was fined from £5 to £50. This *Directory* instructed the minister to get his own mind and the minds of the people into a proper condition to receive divine truth. How this desirable but difficult work was to be effected, we are not informed. Macaulay's words have often been quoted: "Thus it became a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent, one of those beautiful

collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christian people." Volumes no doubt might be written about the extravagances of those days—the outrages upon decency, and the cruel insults to all that churchmen held dear and sacred. Our registers bear a silent, but what an eloquent record to the sadness of the times; there is more eloquence sometimes in silence than in words. From August, 1641, to the end of 1652, there are only fifty-eight registers of baptisms. Only four marriages are recorded from June 9th, 1639, to 5th February, 1653. Registers of burials cease altogether from April, 1640, to February, 1654. The *Directory* forbade the use of any service whatever at the burial of the dead. Thus they sorrowed, and compelled men to sorrow as those without hope.

The following entry appears in this register book:—

"This booke was taken into the Church July 16, 1676, and there everye Sabbath to be [for] all Christenings, Marriages, and Burials to be entered by the Minister, Churchwardens, and Clerk; the occasion whereof is through many mistakes and defaults made formerly by Thomas Morries, Clerk."

Yet, even in the sad years when churchmen were forbidden to worship as they wished, there were some sturdy old churchmen in St. John's parish, whose children were not only baptised, but entered in the parish registers. Randle Oulton was one of these; he was often at vestry meetings, and generally took the chair (vicar or no vicar); indeed, the vicar seldom occupied the chair in those days, nor until long afterwards, he was generally overshadowed by one of the influential parishioners, and Randle Oulton seldom signed anywhere but first. Well, he had eight children born in these years, all baptised and registered. He was mayor of Chester more than once. William Wilson was another of these churchmen; John Cotgreave,

Ralph Edge, Roger Maddocks, most of them mayors of Chester in their day, had several children baptised, and entered in the registers; but Randle's quiver was the fullest, and with a stout heart no doubt, he faced his enemies in the gate, as he was called to do, along with all Royalists in that unhappy time.

In 1649, "P<sup>d</sup> the ringers for ringing for the Victory in Dublin."

This was the terrible campaign of Cromwell, when he revenged the massacre of Protestants, by a slaughter of Roman Catholics equally hideous.

Another thing we may notice, as an evidence of the ravages wrought in these days,—the absence of fine monuments in St. John's. In St. Mary's, they were preserved by the terms of surrender, and we know that tombs, similar to those of the Gamulls and Oldfields in St. Mary's, existed at St. John's. Here is the evidence of one of them: this, of which I have a drawing here, was actually erected, and, together with others, destroyed by the Puritans. Under two arched recesses, supported by columns, kneel in two groups four figures, two male and two female, facing each other, with desk and books between them. The tomb is classical in design, and underneath the sketch is the contract for its erection, and at the back three receipts for the three instalments of the money.

"Memorandum. That the first day of December in the 45<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Elizabeth, 1602, it is agreed between Alexander Cotes of the Cittie of Chester, gentleman, and Maximilian Coult, of London, Alien, that the said Maximilian shall make, frame, erect, and sett up in the place agreed upon in the Church of S<sup>t</sup> John Baptist, in the Cittie of Chester, before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin next comyng, the tomb of the forme before set down to be wrought of alabaster of the saide Alexander Cotes, with the Inscriptions upon . . . and the Arms of Alabaster to be provided by him, the said Maximilian, at

London, and two Armes of Cane Stone to be set over the utter gate of the dwelling house of the said Alexander Cotes in the place appointed, the tomb and the proportion to be according to the scale aforesaid. And for the doing thereof the said Alexander Cotes, is to pay the said Maximilian Coult the somm of ten pounds in form following, viz., iij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> in hand, other iij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> when the stuffe cometh from London, other iij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> when the same work is furnished and set up. And Randal Holme, of Chester, paynter, is surety for the said Maximilian for the performance thereof.

(Signed)

ALEX<sup>r</sup> COTES,  
MAXIMILIAN COULT.

Witness thereof { Randle Holme,  
W. Powell,  
Anne Spark."

Alexander Cotes was the lay impropiator and patron of St. John's. A house, which stood where St. John's rectory now stands, is marked on an old plan as "Mr Cote's House." Ann Sparks<sup>1</sup> was his daughter and heiress, and by her marriage with Mr. Sparks brought the advowson of the living into that family.

The tide of war, however, rolled away, and the people entered their Church once more. What a cruel spectacle it must have presented; for twenty weeks it had sheltered the besiegers of the city. The books are full of entries for repairs, flagging the church, &c. In 1654, the long sermons had done their work on the pulpit cushion:—

"P<sup>d</sup> for Stuff to bottom the pulpit cushion, 4s."

"P<sup>d</sup> Daniel Croston for bottoming it, 1s."

The church flagon was also mended for 6d. There is a curious feature about the church plate, a chalice of Charles I., 1634, having survived all the troubles of those times,—when money was wanted for the king, and plate was coined,

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<sup>1</sup> Maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth.

when Puritans seized on church ornaments, and soldiers pillaged,—some sturdy churchwarden, perhaps Mr. Mayor Walley, who was mayor and warden when the outworks of the city were taken, hid away this cup. In 1674, they made a copy of it, and the initials of Randle Batho, and Thomas Bird, churchwardens, were placed on both cups, and the date 1674; but we can see that the later piece is a clumsy copy of the more graceful chalice. It was a mystery to me how one could be so much better than the other, until Mr. Lowe showed the dates by the Hall mark. In 1656, the parish bounds were marked for the first time since 1645, and 4s. was paid for the "collation." Then there was:—

"Pay<sup>d</sup> Henry —, the joiner, for the minister's seat, & the passage into the pulpit, as will appear by a note under his hand, £2. 15s."

1656. "P<sup>d</sup> Ralph Almond, the smith, for making a case to hold the basson in, & for a lock for the minister's seat, 2s. 8d."

"P<sup>d</sup> Thomas Blessing, for paynting & gilding the case that holdeth the basson in the Church, 6s."

This "basson" was, I find from church accounts in another parish, for the administration of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. Where was the font? All fonts had been taken out of the parish churches by the soldiers. The history of our particular font will be given presently. It appears that they had time now for attending to the æsthetics, and, if they must wear chains, would at all events have them gilded.

"Paid Thomas Blessinge, for the gilding of the houre glass, 6s."

It seems that, since the ladders had been taken from the tower, it had not been possible to ascend it. It had no doubt suffered in the siege, and needed (as it always seems to have done since the day it was finished) repairs.

"Paid to Alderman Foulon, for 10,000 slates, £5. Paid for the Carriage of them from the boat, 8s. 4d."

"payd. to the Joyner, for 4 foote of — & 6 foote of Spares for the bell wheeles, 1s."

"P<sup>d</sup> to Thomas Loyd, in part of payment, for the making of the bell wheeles, £1. 10s."

Now they had to get into the steeple.

"pay<sup>d</sup> for pack thread to flinge into the Steepill, 2s. 6d."

"Given Roger Maddock, for his paynes for flinging 3 dayes, 4s."

"Given unto Charles Robinson, for going up into the Steepill, 6s."

The carpenters had morning draughts when they made the windles.

"P<sup>d</sup> for 41 lbs. of Spanish Iron, 1s. 6d., at 2<sup>d</sup> a pound, for the windles, 8s. 6d."

"P<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Ragge, the Smith, for working of it, 4s."

"Paid to Edward Powell, for helping to lay the Bell flower with y<sup>e</sup> boardes, 2s. 6d."

A sawpit was dug, and everything seems to show that great activity existed around the church. £30 was spent.

1657. Two bells were recast (probably having been cracked in the siege) at a cost of £5. 6s., and more metal, £4. 6s. 8d.

"Paid the Bell founder £11. 17s. 7d."

In 1659, Mr. Sparke, the lay rector, attended a parish meeting, and made a demand for the tithes and other payments; the parish engaged to defend any suit brought against any parishioner on this charge. The churchwardens venture to spend £1. 5s. on an audit dinner this year.

In 1660, the new ladders were made for the steeple, and put into their places. This was a joyful year for those who loved Church and King. King Charles II. was proclaimed, the bells of St. John's were rehung just in time,



and the churchwardens paid the ringers when the king was proclaimed, 6s.

The bishopric was restored. Bishop Brian Walton entered Chester. At the Bars the Mayor and Corporation, Clergy, trainbands of the city in their formalities, and principal inhabitants, met their bishop, and walked before him to the palace, amidst the acclamations of the people, who expressed the greatest joy at the restoration of Episcopacy. Better times were in store for churchmen; the people were heartily tired of the vagaries which had been played, the long sermons, the extemporaneous prayers, which, in the ears of those accustomed to the solemn piety of the Prayer Book, sounded almost ludicrous and profane. They longed for the sober piety of the prayers they had learned to love; they longed to have their solemn life union in holy matrimony, consecrated once more by prayer and sacrament; they longed to be allowed to dedicate their little children again to God in Holy Baptism; they longed to see their loved ones laid in their last quiet resting place, with words of hope and faith; they longed for the quiet, tender, devotional services of the church, for reverence in holy places, and in the presence of holy things, instead of the disorder, ruin, contempt, and profanity, which they had witnessed. One writer says: "The enthusiasm of the people was too impatient for legal forms, and in thousands of parish churches the liturgy was restored on the Sunday after the king's return, under no other authority than what was conferred by the unanimous feelings of the pastor and his flock. The reaction was sudden and complete. Puritanism retained no hold on the affections of the people, and they scarcely expressed any interest in its fallen fortunes."

The changes of vicar were numerous in these days. No one seemed to settle at St. John's: John Pemberton, eight

years; Peter Leigh, four years; Alexander Featherstone, three years. A contrast to Parson Richardson's fifty-three years, and my predecessor's, thirty-seven years.

In 1662, we find what had become of the font, which had been taken out of the church in 1646.

"Pai<sup>d</sup> for the getting of the font stone out of Mr. Bickerton's garden, 1s."

"Spent upon those men that fetcht it, & the Servants, who showed them to it, 1s."

"Paid for drawing of the font stone to the Church from Mr. Bickerton's, 1s."

"P<sup>d</sup> unto Ralph Downam for the setting up of the font stone, 12s."

I take it that the bowl of our present font is the stone here referred to in Mr. Bickerton's garden; it had perhaps served the purpose of an ornamental flower bowl, or perhaps of a trough for dogs to drink out of. Next comes:—

"P<sup>d</sup> for the Common Prayer book, 8s."

"P<sup>d</sup> for 8 Ells of Holland to make the Sarpliss, £1. 17s."

"P<sup>d</sup> for the making of it, 5s."

"P<sup>d</sup> for 3 lbs. of Wax candles to read Prayers by, 5s."

"P<sup>d</sup> for a book, which the Lord Bp. sent to us to give to the Minister, 6d."

The oath of allegiance was probably taken, for the churchwardens

"P<sup>d</sup> to the Visitors for the book of our oaths, 6d."

"Paid Henry Johnson for the Cover for the font, 6s."

Whether a change of minister followed upon these other changes, I don't know, but there is this entry:—

"P<sup>d</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Chatterton for his preaching upon two first days, by the Commissary's order, £1."

This was in 1662, and in that year Alexander Featherstone became vicar. Peter Leigh, his predecessor, was a

nonconforming minister, who refused to use the Prayer Book, and retired from his post.

Here is further evidence of the Restoration:—

“P<sup>d</sup> Henry Johnson for the setting up of the King’s arms, 1s. 6d.”

“P<sup>d</sup> for two iron bars & 2 iron clamps for the Staying of the King’s Armes, 3s. 4d.”

“P<sup>d</sup> for the Kings Armes, £4.”

“P<sup>d</sup> for a piece of plate for the Church use, £1. 13s. 6d.”

“For changing the old flagons & bason for 2 new flagons, 10s.”

Now the people were seated again in church. Charles Walley, the mayor, who was deposed by the Commonwealth, had his seat in the middle aisle, so had sturdy Randle Oulton, with all his olive branches. Richard Broster, too, and other old friends. How thankful they must have been to enjoy once more the services they loved.

“Paid for ringing on King’s Coronation Day, 1s. 6d.”

“P<sup>d</sup> for 60 lbs. of leade for the (lining of the) font, 13s. 9d.”

Christmas was kept in good style again.

“P<sup>d</sup> for 2 lbs. of candles, & 3 large links for Xmas Day in the morning, for the Parish use, 5s. 4d.”

“Paid for Hollies & Evergreens to dress the Church, 2s. 6d.”

In 1665, they were still unsettled about their vicar.

“M<sup>r</sup> Broster was paid for preaching two Sabbaths, £2.”

“M<sup>r</sup> Trafford for preaching, 10s.”

Thomas Bridge became vicar in this year. Alexander Featherstone was only here for three years.

Though regicides were out of favour, there were vulpicides in those days, and I am afraid the churchwardens of St. John’s would be out of favour with the Cheshire hunt.

“P<sup>d</sup> for a fox’s head, 1s.”

The entry, "Paid for ringing two several times for news against the Hollanders," refers to a bitter conflict between England and Holland, owing to the quarrels of merchants belonging to the two nations on the Guinea coast. The king had not received the kindest treatment from Holland in his exile, and no love was lost between the nations. The Dutch were very tough, but the Englishman was tougher. "They may be killed," said the Dutch admiral, "but they can't be conquered."

1669. "P<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bickerton's man for bringing an order from the Lord Bp. against Conventicles, 8d."

This must have been the Mr. Bickerton who had the font stone. Was he the bishop's secretary? In 1672, there was

"Paid to Mr. Robert Radford, for foure yards of Dyaper to make the Communion Tabell Cloth, & two napkins, 12s."

This I take to be the curious linen cloth worked with the history of St. John Baptist. The feast, the daughter of Herodias, the executioner, and the head brought in a charger, are the subjects repeated again and again on the linen.

"More payd to Widdow Burges for making of the table cloth & the two napkins, and for washing them, 1s. 2d."

"Paid M<sup>r</sup> Humphrey Jones, the Draper, for 3 yards of green Broad Cloth for a Carpitt for the Communion Tabell, £1. 10s."

Again, the Hollanders:—

"Paid. Ringing for news agst. the hollanders, 2s. 6d."

"Thanks giving day, being good news against the hollanders."

They rang on May 29th, "for the day of his majesty's return, 2s."

1672. The distressed minister appears, perhaps in the person of some who had refused to conform, and had given up their livings:—

P<sup>d</sup> "to a distressed minister, that was recommended to us by M<sup>r</sup> Maior & M<sup>r</sup> Bridge, 1s."

and, again, "p<sup>d</sup> a distressed minister, 2s."

1673. "P<sup>d</sup> ringing the Day the Peace was proclaimed between England and Holland, 3s."

In this year there is an entry:—

"Paid Mr. Randle Holme, for work done about the Standards for the Sword and maise, 5s."

These were heraldic paintings by our friend the herald and antiquary.

In 1684, extensive repairs were needed for the steeple and roof of the church. Thirty-eight hundredweight of lead cost £22. Clamps of iron and great barrs for the rooffe of the church, £2. Workmen got 1s. 4d. and 8d. a day.

"Paid Samuel Looms for rails and bannisters for the Communion Table, and for other timber, as doth appear by notice, £9. 4s."

This was an extensive order. These rails, I suspect, were the oak rails, which were taken away when the present stone arcading was erected. These rails were sold, and are now in a house at Heswall.

"1680. The Ch. Wardens paid W<sup>m</sup> Crane for writing the Creed, ye Lord's Prayer and the Antiquitie of the Church, 12s."

The last refers to the statement now to be seen in the porch:—

The yeare of grace six hundred fourscore and nyen  
As sheweth myne Auctour a Briton giraldu  
Kynge Ethelred myndynge most the blysse of Heven  
Edyfyed a Collage Churche notable and famous  
In the suburbs of Chester pleasant and beauteous  
In the honor of God and the Baptyst Saynt Johan  
With help of Bysshop Wulfrice and good exortacion.

1684. The wardens received from Captain Spark, the lay rector, "what he has bestowed towards the railing of the communion table, 10s." Paid for the book of Homilies 9s. 6d. There is one in black letter still at St. John's.

1685. "Pd. the Ringers, the day we received news that the Duke of Monmouth was defeated, 1s."

He had been in Chester two years previously, popularity hunting, but the Cestrians had had enough of disturbances, and a little further on they paid no less than 12s.

"to Christopher Ealim for ringing upon the Day of Thanksgiving for the happy victory over the Duke of Monmouth."

The wardens had special seats in church, and paid £1. 4s. for covering them.

1686. The bells were thoroughly over-hauled in this year:—

"Paid the Bell founder for Casting 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> bells, and for adding thereto 9 cwt. of metal and upwards at 1d. a pound, £64. Paid the workmen for making the bell frames and for morning draughts, £10. 9s. 1d., as usually allowed."

"Paid for the timber that was used about the bell frames, £8. 15s."

"The Iron work about the bells, £7. os. 10d."

"For new brasses for the bells, £3. 3s. 6d."

"For the making of 5 new bell wheeles and timber, £6."

The churchwardens showed a spirit worthy of the office they held, and they spent £139, and were £73 in debt!

At this time there was painted on plaister, in very beautiful lettering, and enclosed in an elaborate border, with cherubims at the corners, the following instructions to the ringers:—

Ye ringers all observe these orders well.

He forfeits 12 pence that turns off a bell,

And he that rings with either spurr or hatt

His six pence certainly shall pay for that.  
 He that doth spoile or doth disturbe a peal  
 Shall pay his 4 pence for a yard of ale,  
 And he that is heard to curse or sweare  
 Shall pay his 12 pence and forbear.  
 These customs elsewhere now be used  
 Lest bells and ringers be abused.  
 Ye gallants all that on purpose come to ring  
 See that you coyne along with you do bring,  
 And further also, if that ye ring here  
 You must ring truly with both hand and eare,  
 Or else your forfeits surely pay  
 And that full speedily without delay.  
 Our lawes is old, that are not new,  
 The Sexton looketh for his due.

Unfortunately, these no longer exist in the church.

There was further inscription:—

The 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> bells were new caste in the year 1686,

and in the same year bells and frames, being in great disrepair, were newly hung.

In the churchwardens' books there is this entry, "paid for plastering and writing in the Steeple, 8s. 6d." This work was most beautifully executed, and the colours were admirable.

"1688. P<sup>d</sup> for 4 distressed Protestants that were sent to us by Mr. Bridge, 2s. 6d."

"P<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Rogers, that had lost his Ship coming from Virginia, 2s."

"Ringing, 18 July, for the proclamation Day of King William and Queen Mary, 10s."

This was large payment.

On October 8th, 1689, a church rate agitation seems to have stirred the minds of the parishioners. A very large parish meeting was held, and a large majority decided

that all persons, who have not paid church rates for two years, should have citations against them taken out. The minority resented this, for on October 12th appears a notice signed by several of those present at the former meeting, and also by others: "We protest against this meeting, as it relates to the setting up a copy of the exemplification."

In December, however, an overwhelming meeting of parishioners was held, and resolved:—

"Notwithstanding any protestation of any of the Parishioners, that a certain table, containing special articles, which do contain several rights and privileges of this Church, shall be, and is ordered to be put up and hung in the most convenient place in the Church aforesaid for the better satisfaction of whom it may concern."

Thirty-three signatures appear to these minutes. The vicar, Lawrence Wood, signs at neither meeting. He was a pluralist, and was rector of St. Bridget's as well as St. John's. He kept out of disturbances, like a wise man. Perhaps he went to St. Bridget's when there was trouble at St. John's, and to St. John's when there was trouble at St. Bridget's.

This feud continued to rage, for on December 17th a meeting, at which forty-two parishioners signed the book decided "that the churchwardens make diligent search for the person or persons that broke down the table of fees set up by order of a former meeting at the Parish Church, and prosecute him and them, and set up a New Table, and defend any Parishioner who shall be sued for fees not contained in the Table as set up." Perhaps we can understand why Master Lawrence Wood was not there.

1689. "Pd by request of Widow Gardiner, to 4 poor widdows of her daughter's near acquaintance (her daughter being buried in linen), 10s."



In Charles II.'s reign an act was passed requiring, that all people should be buried in woollen, not in any garment made of flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold, or silver, but sheep's wool only: the friends were to bring an affidavit to the Parson to this effect, within 8 days, and he was subject to fine of £5, if he did not give notice to churchwardens and overseers in case they failed to comply with this order.

There is a certain melancholy interest about the following, especially at the present crisis of public affairs:—

June 9, 1690. "Paid the ringers 7s., when King W<sup>m</sup> came to Chester for to go for Ireland," on his way to the Battle of the Boyne. Parkgate was then the port from which vessels sailed for Ireland.

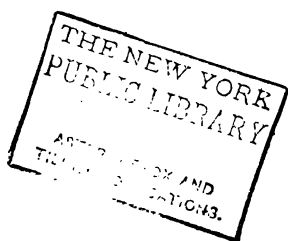
"Paid the ringers for the King's safe landing into Ireland, 5s.," and again "for Joy that the King came to Dublin."

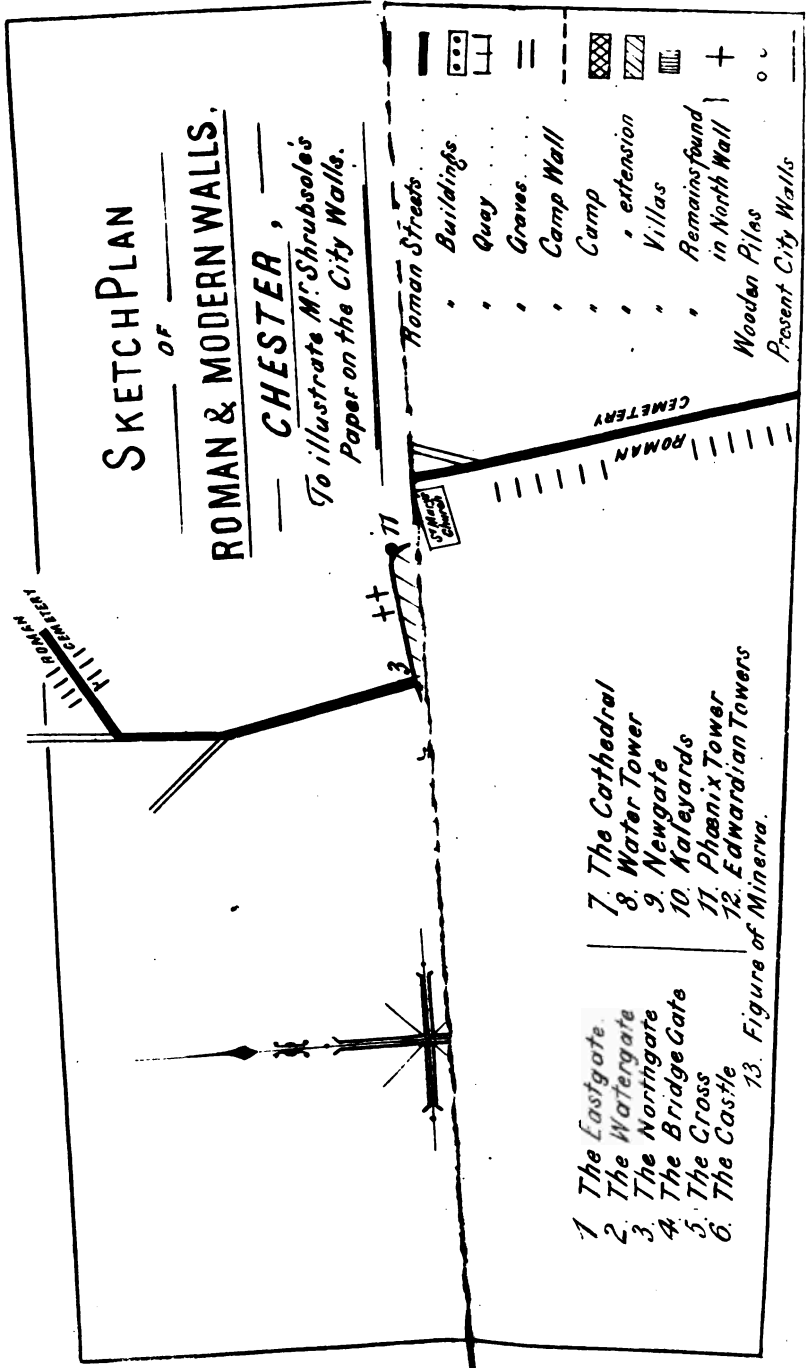
"July 2, 1691. P<sup>d</sup> Ringers, when Athlone was taken, 2s. 6d." Again, for taking of Galway.

"P<sup>d</sup> ringers, when the news came that the Irish was routed. 2s. 6d."

And here we must stop, for the present, at any rate.







# SKETCH PLAN OF ROMAN & MODERN WALLS.

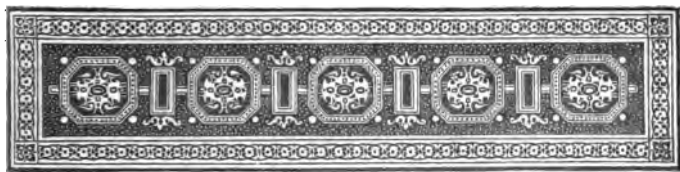
**CHESTER,**  
To illustrate Mr. Shrubsole's  
Paper on the City Walls.

- 1 The Eastgate
- 2 The Watergate
- 3 The Northgate
- 4 The Bridge Gate
- 5 The Cross
- 6 The Castle
- 7 The Cathedral
- 8 Water Tower
- 9 Newgate
10. Kaleyards
11. Phoenix Tower
12. Edwardian Towers
13. Figure of Minerva.

- Roman Streets
- Buildings
- Quay
- Graves
- Camp Wall
- Camp
- extension
- Villas
- Remains found in North Wall
- Wooden Piles
- Present City Walls

ROMAN  
CEMETERY

St. Mary's Church



## "THE WALLS OF CHESTER: ARE THEY ROMAN OR EDWARDIAN?"

A REVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED OPINIONS OF SIR JAMES PICTON, F.S.A., MR. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A., MR. E. T. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., AND MR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., AS TO THE AGE OF THE NORTH WALL OF THE CITY OF CHESTER. BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S., HON. CURATOR, CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*(Read March 18th, 1889.)*

IN 1884, consequent upon certain discoveries then made, I had the temerity to call in question the opinion which had been current since 1848, that the north wall of the city was Roman. I based my objection upon its construction, its composition, and its surroundings, as altogether different from any admittedly Roman work in Britain. I still hold to my original view as sound, and in harmony with all the older writers. If, as some authorities think, I am mistaken on this point, it is consoling to know that I am erring in good company, since the late Mr. J. H. Parker, of Oxford, thus expresses himself as to the age of our city walls: "The greater part of the superstructure, the walls themselves, and the towers are Edwardian, with a few repairs, and reconstructions of comparatively recent date."<sup>1</sup> Again, Mr. Freeman, no mean authority, in a note

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<sup>1</sup> Parker's *Mediæval Architecture of Chester*, p. 1.

to his address on the "Early History of Chester," says: "If anybody thought that the walls, as they stand, were Roman walls, or that there was any Roman work in them, besides pieces of foundation here and there, his error was so plain, as hardly to be worth arguing against."<sup>1</sup> Here I may allude to the part taken in this discussion by the distinguished Roman epigraphist and antiquary, the late Thompson Watkin. His views on the question, as the result of personal investigation, will be found in the pages of *Roman Cheshire*,<sup>2</sup> and are thus summed up—"The wall is not Roman *in situ*, in any portion."

Again with regard to the peculiar masonry seen in our north wall, two admissions of much weight have been made by well-known antiquaries. Wright, speaking of our north wall, says: "There is no other example of a Roman town wall in our island which presents the same description of masonry as Chester."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Brock is equally candid, for he says,<sup>4</sup> "I am willing to admit that it is unlike any other city wall in England." When we bear in mind the unity of method which characterises Roman constructive works, admissions of this kind are really fatal. At any rate they redeem my own view from any appearance of singularity, or *prima facie* improbability. A further word of explanation is due. My remarks originally were based upon the discoveries made in 1883. The later discoveries of 1887 and 1888 have called forth no less than eight papers of considerable merit, several of these will be found in vol. ii. of the Society's *Journal*.<sup>5</sup> The task which I now propose to myself is to carefully examine the various reasons advanced by the several writers for believing the wall to be Roman,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii., p. 265.    <sup>2</sup> *Roman Cheshire*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Wright's *Uriconium*, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal Chester Archæological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> They were also reprinted with some additional papers in *Roman Remains in Chester*, edited by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

and to ascertain how far they are valid and how far fallacious. For my part my only desire has been to arrive at the facts of the case, so far as they are ascertainable. Should it be established beyond doubt that the north wall is Roman, then we shall have lighted upon a remarkable and interesting fact; but if not we shall have the facts all the same, and a very interesting wall.

#### NATURE OF THE DEVAN CAMP.

There is an omission common to most writers on the subject of the walls which I take the liberty of pointing out, viz., that not one of them seem to have fully realised what Deva was as a fortified camp in Roman times. It is to be borne in mind that the Roman annexation of Britain was conducted in a systematic way. From a central station in the south of England two parallel military lines diverged northwards, one along the east coast, the other the west. Along these lines (afterwards to be known as streets), at intervals of fifteen or twenty miles, was erected a small station, walled or otherwise, two or three acres in extent. Other places along the route having a settled population were surrounded by an irregular wall, often of considerable extent, as in the case of Uriconium. In addition to these military stations and walled towns there existed at certain points of strategic importance, often eighty or a hundred miles apart, a *castrum*, serving as a base of operations, and at the same time the headquarters of one of the legions. Such were Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, and York. Chester had not its equal in the south. London at the time was probably without a wall. The only one that could be compared to Chester was York, and that more on the ground of its importance in later times. Deva was not environed by an irregular town wall, as some would have it, but, in the

nature of things, by one built on a strictly Roman model, with all the details as to the direction and width of streets, and the construction of the walls and gates which we are familiar with in Roman military writers. It was the headquarters and training depôt of the Twentieth Legion. As such its walls would be as secure as the skill of Julius Frontinus and Agricola could make them. It was the Metz of the north-west provinces, and history has no mention of its walls having been assailed during the time it was held by the Romans. With just pride we often speak of our city as "rare old Chester." It well deserves the title, since in Roman times, as we have seen, it was second to no Roman fortress in Britain. Enough of its importance remained even in Saxon times, for they called it "Ceastre," from *Castra*, the camp *par excellence*. There are hundreds of places in England bearing the name of Chester with a prefix, but there is still only one "Chester." Its British name, *Caer leon vawr* (the camp of the great legion), implies as much. So that Cestrians have something to be proud of in their "rare old Chester." History is but repeating itself in the fact that the Chester of to-day is once more the headquarters of the British forces in the North-Western District. If the position I have assigned to Deva be the correct one, then the only conclusion to arrive at is that the present north wall, which is admittedly unlike any other Roman wall in England, either as to material or construction, does not in any degree approach the standard of the Devan camp, or the character of the walls built by Julius Agricola.

SIR JAMES PICTON'S HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE  
CITY WALLS.

As historic data are of the greatest importance, I propose briefly to notice those gathered together by Sir

James Picton. To commence then, when the Roman wall was five hundred years old—an old wall, in fact—we are told that “Ethelfrith the Saxon inflicted a terrible vengeance on the district, immediately followed by the fall and destruction of Chester.”<sup>1</sup> So complete was this overthrow “that the city thus sacked and destroyed remained in ruins nearly three hundred years.” Of the period between A.D. 607 and A.D. 872 Sir James Picton says:<sup>2</sup> “The Saxon conquerors shrank from being circumscribed within city walls. These were, therefore, probably broken down, and in many cases levelled with the ground.” Of the Danish invasion in A.D. 894, we are told<sup>3</sup> “they made a forced march across country to Lega Ceaster. They could not storm the place, but beset the walls for two days, took all the cattle, and slew all the men they could overtake.” Reference is also made to the statement of Matthew Paris that “the city of Lege Chester was destroyed by the Danes.” “That the destruction was ruthless and sanguinary there can be no doubt.” After having thus from historical records shown that the Roman wall in all probability had been practically destroyed two or three times over by the British, Northumbrians, Danes, and the early Saxons, Sir James proceeds to undo the force of his remarks by stating “that the supposed destruction of the wall is not warranted by anything recorded.” “It may compare,” he says,<sup>4</sup> “with the sack of Anderida (Peveney), where the interior was utterly destroyed; but the walls and town remain to the present day in all their massive strength. So it was probably the case at Chester, but not to the same extent.” “Giraldus Cambrensis (A.D. 1147 to 1220) describes it as surrounded by excellent

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<sup>1</sup>Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, 1887, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.



walls, with many remains of its original grandeur—palaces, baths, towers, temples, &c., &c.”<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately for this piece of evidence, the reference of Giraldus is not to Chester, but to a place two hundred miles away in South Wales, namely, Caerleon. Nor is this the only mistake committed. Giraldus speaks of courses of brick to be seen in the walls—Roman brick, of course. The explanation which is given of this awkward fact is as follows:<sup>2</sup> “It is rather a hazardous guess, but it might be that the ecclesiastic, accustomed to the rough masonry of Wales, on seeing the regular coursed ashlar of Roman work, hastily classed it with the coursed brickwork which he had seen elsewhere.” It is, indeed, hazardous to assume that Giraldus did not know the difference between brick and stone—between thin Roman bricks and the “massive” courses of stone in our walls. But Giraldus is right, for he was again speaking, not of the Walls of Chester, but of Caerleon, in South Wales, to which the description is strictly applicable.

#### THE REBUILDING OF THE CITY WALLS AT VARIOUS TIMES.

Sir James Picton's historic notes are faulty to the extent that he mentions only one side of the question relating to the wall, namely, its destruction from time to time. Nothing is said about the several rebuildings, which are equally part of our local history. We will glance at some of these restorations. We have, first of all, to think of the walls laid low by Ethelfrith in A.D. 607, after two hundred years of neglect, followed by three hundred of wanton waste, enough surely to ruin any wall, so that we are

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, 1887, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

prepared to hear what Higden (in A.D. 1300) tells us, that Ethelfleda "enclosed the city with new walls, and made it nigh to as it was before." Saxon work was never substantial. Hence with the advent of the Norman Conqueror we find a compulsory order for the rebuilding of the walls, to which all the subjects of the Earl of Chester were to contribute, in person or money. A Norman wall in consequence replaced the Saxon. Three hundred years later, in the great building age of the Edwards, we have the wall rebuilt, and furnished in a way not seen since Roman times, but only one or two sides on the Roman lines. This wall we see depicted in Braun's map, showing a very complete encircling wall, the gates strongly fortified, with seventeen towers spread over the circumference. Where was the Roman wall at that time? Now, how best can we connect these statements of pulling down and rebuilding the wall? First of all it is evident that the Roman wall did not survive beyond eight hundred years; then the Saxons we find building outside the Roman lines, followed by the Normans, who were great builders in stone. In three hundred years these walls would become insecure. The rebuilding of them was part of the policy which led to the erection of Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, and Caernarvon Castles. The foundations now found along the north wall, and the wall itself, all belong to this period. In all I have enumerated four walls of which we have historic record. Some modern experts can find now only the oldest—the Roman—the least likely to be there. We have a right to ask, if this be so, and to have pointed out, the Saxon, Norman or Edwardian, all of which are ignored, and failing in obtaining a satisfactory reply, will rightly conclude that the Roman, Saxon, and Norman walls have all disappeared, and that what has survived belongs to the Edwardian age. In this view I am confirmed by the late J. H. Parker, who

distinctly states that the walls and towers are Edwardian.<sup>1</sup> Still more weighty is the evidence of Braun's map of Chester, *circa* 1574, showing undoubted Edwardian work then existing in the time of Elizabeth, much of which still survives in the wall. The appeal to history, as we have seen, gives no countenance to the opinion that we have Roman work above ground in the north wall.

SIR JAMES PICTON ON THE POSITION OF THE SOUTH WALL.

Speaking of the extent of the Roman wall, Sir James Picton remarks,<sup>2</sup> "Above ground the ascertained Roman portion is limited to the wall near the Northgate, and to a small part in the south wall, east of the Bridge Gate." With this view of the identity of the character of the wall at the places mentioned I quite agree. At the same time I do not for a moment admit that they are Roman in either case. As to the south wall, we have a variety of evidence of considerable weight, which would go to show that the south wall of the Roman castrum never extended beyond the line of Pepper Street and Black Friars. Other walls of the camp were enlarged, while the south wall, for some good reason, was a fixed point so long as it was held by the Romans. To give the evidence for this *in extenso* would be tedious, therefore, I only give the heads in passing. There was the creek at Black Friars, a natural barrier, which evidently determined the boundaries of the wall southwards. The projected extension is three hundred yards in advance of this line. Within this area we have found nothing Roman of importance, no altars or foundations of buildings, but we have found a sewer on the

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<sup>1</sup> Parker's *Medieval Architecture of Chester*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, 1887, p. 34.

outside of the inner line of wall, while inside of it and close by we have found foundations of a series of buildings, including a colonnaded structure in line, and only one hundred feet from it. The intervening space was found to be a hard paved way, and was doubtless the intervallum. Mr. Brock mentions the discovery of Roman foundations at the North Gate. Assuming this to be correct, we have no difficulty in ascertaining the point in the south wall where the south gate was placed. At the place calculated, two years ago we found Roman foundations extending over an area of fourteen feet.<sup>1</sup> It was formed of the hardest stone concrete, in which a profusion of mortar had been used. Then there is the documentary evidence of the Charter of Henry VII., showing that the civic boundary did not then extend to the present south wall. To this day all around the Castle area is in the jurisdiction of the county of Chester, which points to what I have no doubt was the fact, that in early times the boundary of the city on the south was nearer the line of Pepper Street and Black Friars than the present wall. Moreover, the Devan fortress, as we have seen, was one constructed on military lines. To regard the present south wall as being on the original Roman site would require us to suppose the camp to have been irregularly constructed. No one gate, for instance, would have been in the centre of its own line of wall; and the wall as a whole neither square nor rectangular. We need to be reminded that there was such an officer in the Devan camp as the *Præfectus Castrorum*, whose tombstone is now in our Museum. Then there is the evidence that the Saxons were the first to build a wall which included the Castle. These several items go far to prove that the Roman south wall never extended beyond

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<sup>1</sup> By the tower and steps of St. Michael's Church.

the line mentioned. On the other hand, what evidence have we that the Roman wall was built, as suggested, on the river bank, in the river in fact, as the silty foundations show? None whatever, beyond the opinion that the masonry is similar; which may be and probably is true. The mass of evidence we have deduced is against the wall by the river being Roman; but then we are told that the two walls are of the same age. If the south wall is not Roman, as the evidence proves, then it follows that the north wall has no claim to be considered Roman.

THE ABSENCE OF MORTAR IN THE WALL NO PROOF  
OF THE WALL BEING ROMAN.

Mr. Brock argues that the north wall built of Roman stones without mortar is Roman in date from base to summit so far as the dry masonry extends.<sup>1</sup> This assertion will be felt by most antiquaries to be startling, so far as Roman work in England is concerned. Mr. Brock himself admits it—"This is certainly a novel feature, for we can point to nothing in England on such a scale of magnificence."<sup>2</sup> He then goes on to say that the Romans did build without mortar in Chester. The proof of this statement we are supposed to have in the sculptured stones, the joints of which it is said show that no mortar was used in their original construction. This view I shall have no difficulty in showing to be an erroneous one. Every ruined abbey in England, the walls of which have been dismantled a few hundred years, has abundance of stones around its walls which are free from mortar. It is well known that rain water, with its carbonic acid, is a special solvent of mortar. Notice, for instance, how it

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

is removed by this action from the interstices between the bricks in modern houses. As well might a visitor to one of these abbeys, taking up a mortarless stone fallen from the walls, instance it as a proof that the monks originally had used no mortar in the construction of the abbey. The instances are analogous. What, then, is the explanation of finding these stones without mortar? It is simply that the Roman buildings to which reference has been made had long remained in a ruined state, exposed to the weather, which had removed most of the mortar, before the stones were re-used in the north wall. We thus see that the suggestion of so unlikely a thing as the non-use of mortar by the Romans is altogether needless. It is unnecessary to suppose that several colonnaded buildings, elaborately constructed with friezes, cornices, and copings, and described by one of the writers as "splendour and grandeur"<sup>1</sup> itself, were all put together without mortar, or clamps of any kind. The supposition carries with it its own refutation. To Mr. Brock's statement that the Romans constructed buildings in Chester without mortar, I am bound to say that so far as my own observation goes there is no evidence of that practice. For thirty years I have noted from time to time any exposure of Roman work, and in every instance the characteristic feature has been stones laid in a bed of mortar, or flooded with mortar. The gas and water engineers, when laying pipes in the city, often come in contact with it, and would confirm what I have said. Two years ago twelve or fourteen feet of walling was met with in Watergate Street, four feet below the surface, and is there still, to speak of what Roman mural work was in Deva. Its preservation is due to the circumstance of its being buried, and not sub-

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<sup>1</sup> *Chester Archaeological and Historic Society*, vol. ii., N.S., p. 4.

ject to atmospheric action. I find, on careful examination, that the stones from the wall do retain here and there a portion of mortar, a patch of six or eight inches in some, enough to prove the point. More than that, in 1884, I saw taken out of the north wall a mass of Roman mortar, evidently from the core of a wall, and weighing one hundred-weight. I may also mention, that there is in the Museum a large fragment of walling built with mortar from the villa at Black Friars. I hope to be able to show that not only did the Romans use mortar in Deva, but that Deva was a depôt for lime for the stations around. There are two localities from which Chester might have been supplied with lime, Derbyshire fifty miles away, and the Welsh hills eight miles distant. No wonder that the Romans selected the latter, and erected there a small station, now Caer Gwrle, at the foot of the limestone hills. Tiles with the stamp of the Twentieth Legion have been found there. We have also found limestone blocks among Roman *debris* on the Roodeye, showing that a supply came also by water. With these means of securing an unlimited supply of lime, it is not likely that the Romans in Deva were driven to the shift of laying stones without mortar. Lime could not have been a scarce commodity in Roman times. It was so in later times in Chester, since the interior of the Cathedral walls is made up with dry rubble without mortar. The reason is apparent. The Roman roads in this country scarcely underwent repairs until the times of Elizabeth, when they were about worn out. It is highly probable that even in Edwardian times the roads to the hills were not passable for heavy traffic, and hence lime for building purposes, as far as possible, had to be dispensed with, and earth used as a substitute. To sum up our case on this point, we have the evidence of existing Roman walling in Chester built with mortar; the profuse use of it

in tessellated floors, and foundations containing more mortar than stone ; its existence in patches on the inscribed stones, and not least the mountains of limestone near Chester ; these, taken together, directly negative the statement that the Romans in Chester built walls and temples without mortar.

#### THE SUPPOSED PECULIAR CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALL.

This point is considered one of some importance since two writers lay considerable stress upon it. Mr. Brock thus propounds his view :<sup>1</sup> "The construction adopted must have required forethought and correspondence with the workers at the quarry. The builder must have set out his rod, determining the heights of the varying courses, for while the stones are of equal height to each course, they are not the same one course with the other. As set out so must they have been worked at the quarry. As worked, so must they have been delivered, sorted, and built. The face stones bear incontestable evidence that they have been fashioned by Roman hands." Again, attention is called to the fact that <sup>2</sup>"The stones on the north wall are laid in such regular courses that every architect or builder who has seen them is at once convinced that they must have been carefully dressed in the quarries to certain definite heights before being used for the wall. This would therefore show that those who placed them in their present position, were those who originally had them dressed in the quarries. But every one admits that these stones are undoubtedly Roman, and bear the tool marks of the Roman masons ; hence if those who originally dressed them in the quarries built them into the wall, as we now see them, then

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman Remains in Chester*, Mr. Earwaker's Introduction, p. xiii.



this portion of the Chester walls is undoubtedly Roman." Of course, a wall could have been built after the above elaborate fashion. By the evidence of its contents, I shall proceed to show that it was not so constructed, that in fact the description is too highly coloured and imaginative. The architect and his measuring rod, the sandstone quarry, and the quarrymen, the dressing, sorting, and delivering the stones from the quarry, are all, I shall show, needlessly imported on to the scene of operations. First, we may get rid of the quarry, and the quarrying, by remembering that all the stones of the wall, with the exception of the outside face, came from Roman buildings then existing in the city, in a more or less ruined state at the time of the building of the wall, and not from a sandstone quarry. There are two witnesses to this fact. The first is the moulded, sculptured, and inscribed stones, to the number of one hundred and thirty-eight, found in the wall and thought worthy of a place in our Museum. The next witness is Sir Henry Dryden, who visited the openings, and thus describes the interior :<sup>1</sup> "Nearly the whole of the material of the part taken out and rebuilt consisted of sculptured stones—plinths, cornices, copings, sepulchral slabs, bas-reliefs of figures about two feet high, and other moulded stones—evidently the remains of large, ornate, solid buildings." The bulk of the stones in the wall came from "large, ornate, solid Roman buildings." There is no getting over this, for the stones tell their own tale. The quarrying, dressing, sorting, delivering, spoken of, as well as the forethought, and correspondence with the workers at the quarry and the wall, all disappear, as being unsupported by evidence. There remains still the outer face of the wall to be accounted for, which is supposed to show in some special degree the forethought

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<sup>1</sup> Letter in *Academy*, October 1st, 1887.

of the builder in seeking out with his rod the varying heights of the courses. Now, all writers on the present discoveries seem agreed that from the two openings in the wall we have recovered stones which point to five distinctive Roman buildings. Mr. Birch thus describes them:<sup>1</sup> "One of these buildings, with more or less rectangular plan, and on a massive scale; another had a curvilinear outline in plan. One was enriched with pilasters, or columns having the capitals decorated after the well-known Corinthian type; another had the intercolumnar slab carved with reeded or fluted countersunk bands, semi-circular in section, alternating with strips." No fragments from these buildings are more remarkable than the dentil cornice-work, of which we have so many examples. Now, if the cornices of a building survive, so must the plain-worked stones which carried the cornice. You will not ordinarily have one without the other. You may have the plain stone without the cornice, but not the cornice without the plain stone; call it ashlar if you please. We say, then, that the plain stones from the Roman buildings were used to build the outside face of the north wall, while the moulded stones were disposed of as best they could be to make up the rest of the wall, a very common-sense proceeding, I think it will be generally conceded. But, then, we are told that the courses are not all the same height. This is precisely what might be expected. It is too much to think the stone courses in the five houses would be all of the same height, for while solid in structure they evidently varied considerably in style. The height of the courses depended upon the size of the supply of stone to hand from the dilapidated buildings. There yet remains the architect of this work to be disposed of. Sir

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol ii., p. 128.

Henry Dryden told us the nature of the stones. Sir James Picton will tell us in what order they were laid. This is his account:<sup>1</sup> "The moulded and sculptured stones were thrown in promiscuously, without any order or attempt at bedding." The orderly arrangement made out at the onset, the planning, the measuring, the dressing, the sorting of the stones; not least, the controlling mind, the architect, all are reduced to very moderate dimensions when the interior of the wall is looked into by unprejudiced minds. The simple and probable story of the stones is, that they were brought from the ruined portion of the Roman city in the stirring and building times of the three Edwards. This point will come before us later on.

ON CERTAIN PECULIARITIES IN THE STRUCTURE OF  
THE WALL MENTIONED BY VARIOUS WRITERS.

Several features have been noticed in the north wall which are supposed to favour the theory of a Roman origin. Thus Mr. de Gray Birch describes the walls of Chester as<sup>2</sup> "Cyclopean, built *more Romano* of fine squared stones, set together with very close joints, and no mortar." To this statement I take exception, since the want of mortar, the massive blocks of stone, and the fine jointed masonry are not the characteristic feature of any Roman castra wall existing in Britain. In this place I will only notice one or two peculiarities in the stone work. The masonry is described as having very fine joints. It was only on the outside of the wall that the stones were sufficiently regular for this to be in any degree true. For the interior was of the rudest kind of work, even to the use of undressed stones. Rather than rely on my own observation, I will quote from

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 35.

one whose description will carry conviction, the more so since it is "the result of three days' examination of the wall." Sir James Picton says:<sup>1</sup> "The outer skin is squared ashlar, the rest is rough rubble, with an inner facing. It is here that the bulk of the moulded and sculptured stones were found. They, too, have been thrown in promiscuously, without any order or attempt at bedding." Mr. Birch, in quoting this passage, omits the last paragraph. It is difficult to understand how, when the stones composing the interior of the wall have been thrown down without any order or attempt at bedding, that the wall itself can be said to have fine jointed masonry. In this conflict of evidence as to the construction of the wall, I think that we must give credit to the statement of Sir James Picton. Besides, I may say that his statement is confirmed by the remarks of several gentlemen who saw the wall when it was exposed.<sup>2</sup> I mentioned on a previous occasion that so loosely jointed were the rows of stones that I saw the masons employed pass their arm between the stones to feel for inscriptions. This statement Mr. Brock thought scarcely possible. What I saw has been confirmed by what has been since brought to light. Since 1887 much of the soil on the rock shelf on the outside of the wall has been removed, when it was noticed that a large tree on the outside of the wall had sent its roots, as large as a ship's cable, through the wall into the more kindly pasture of the Deanery field. Mr. de Gray Birch speaks of the walls as "Cyclopean." The use of this word as applied to any stones in the north wall is a mistake. We have stones as large in the walls of the Cathedral and the older churches in the city, as are to be seen on the outer face of the north wall. No one would think of speaking of the

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 88.

stones in our churches as cyclopean, nor is the term applicable to any masonry seen in the wall. Large stones from our local sandstone are to be found all over the city, and in the quarries the bed of stone is of considerable thickness, and there would be no difficulty in procuring stones four or six feet square. Again it is urged that the wall is Roman since "the massive style of building seen there does not agree with any undoubted mediæval work with which we are familiar." The various drawings of the wall may at first sight appear to support this statement, but we have to remember that the first drawing is only a "diagrammatic section of the wall," a somewhat elastic term; and on further looking into it we find that there are twenty courses of stone in twenty feet, giving an average of twelve inches in depth for each course of stone. A wall built of stones of this thickness in Chester calls for no remark, for the reason I have assigned. The terms "massive" and "cyclopean" are both out of place. So far from there being no mediæval work in the city to compare with the north wall we have abundant examples in the walls of the Cathedral, and in all the older churches of the city. I will select from two churches. St. Peter's Church: On the south front of the exterior wall are four courses of stone, six feet eight inches high, or an average of twenty inches for each course. In the porch are two stones, seven feet long, two feet three inches wide, and one foot eight inches deep. No stone from the wall can approach this in size. In the interior are several pieces of stone work of twelve courses, seventeen feet high, or an average of one foot five inches for each course. Cathedral: In the porch are six courses of stone, averaging thirteen inches. In the south transept there are five courses of stone, averaging eighteen inches. Not to be tedious, I may say that in the nave and in other parts of the Cathedral, there are a score of instances

in which the size of the stones far exceeds anything to be seen at the north wall. So that, if size of masonry is to be the test of the wall being Roman or otherwise, the churches in the city have a better title to that distinction than the wall.

WHY NO MEDIÆVAL FRAGMENTS ARE FOUND IN  
THE WALL.

Again another question is asked—<sup>1</sup>“Had the walls been built in mediæval times, is it not probable that some fragments of buildings, or tombs of later date, such as Saxon or Norman, would have been met with, and similarly used up for the interior of the wall?” I do not for a moment dispute the fact that no Saxon or Norman stonework has been found in the wall. But is it a fair inference that if the wall was built in the time of the Edwards (which is the date I assign to it) we ought to find sculptured stones of that age? I think not, for this, if for no other reason, so far as the Saxon stones are concerned, that there was no distinctive feature in their masonry; in fact they were not builders in stone. As to the Norman builders, an interval of two hundred years or so, as between one period and another, is scarcely sufficient time for stone erections to have become worthless. Again besides the Norman churches, there was no supply of distinctive Norman masonry that could have been available for the wall. The Norman castle remained in fair preservation until the sixteenth century. The only objects likely to afford fragments of stone for building in the wall would be one of the churches. The relations between the abbey and the civic power in Chester at this time were not of that friendly nature to warrant the idea. In the same way we

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<sup>1</sup> *Roman Remains in Chester*, Mr. Earwaker's Introduction, p. xiv.

can understand the ecclesiastics resisting the spoliation of their graveyards, while not objecting to the use of stone from the Roman cemeteries. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Roman ruins in and about the city, would seem to have been a common quarry for the civic as well as the ecclesiastical power. The town authorities would seem to have taken the larger share, as the wall is witness, and also an inscribed stone found at the castle ; in addition there is a wall there in which there is a course of Roman bricks, while fragments of tile, pottery, and Roman mortar will be found filling up the spaces between the rough stonework.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, several Roman fragments, and an inscribed stone were found during the progress of the late restoration of the Cathedral, built into the wall of the Lady Chapel. In 1884, in White Friars, we found the foundations of the monastery, the wall being built of Roman stones, while below it were the ruins of a colonnaded building. In another wall close by, in which Roman stones predominated, were found two Mithraic figures. In the monastery wall by the Roodeye is a course of Roman tiles. It was only too evident that the monks had helped themselves from ruins existing. The conclusion to arrive at would seem to be that we have no right to expect Saxon or Norman relics in the wall. Their absence proves nothing. Indeed, the presence of a Norman carved stone would be more difficult to explain than its absence.

#### ON THE MONUMENTAL STONES FOUND IN THE WALL.

A remarkable fact in the composition of the north wall is the inclusion of many sepulchral monuments. Nearly one-third of the moulded stones are of that nature. Their presence is a source of embarrassment to the advocates of

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<sup>1</sup> Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 195.

the Roman origin of the wall. Mr. Brock would regard the present north wall as an increase of the Roman area in later Roman times, which included the cemeteries.<sup>1</sup> "What is more reasonable than to suppose that on the extension of the area the Roman sepulchres were demolished, and the stones thus ready at hand, on the spot, used in the building of the wall?" The extension of the area is highly probable, but there is no evidence to show that the space so included had been a Roman cemetery. We know of the existence elsewhere of three Roman cemeteries, some distance out of the city, along the street, on the sites of which the ground is thickly strewn with fragments of cinerary urns; while all that has been found in the present century, in the included area, has been a solitary urn. Besides, the rock comes very near the surface, rendering the ground unfit for the purpose. The three tiled graves found in the Infirmary field were outside the line of what is generally accepted as the west wall. Further, it may be urged that the cemeteries on the east and south are a mile outside the camp. These details are shown on the map of the Roman camp.<sup>2</sup> With the well-known objection of the Romans to intramural interments, it is not likely that a cemetery would be allowed so near the north wall in a city of the size of Deva. Further, the monuments are largely in excess of what could be accommodated within the area. The two openings in the wall have yielded thirty monuments. If the rest of the wall proved equally productive we should have five hundred to reckon with. Then there is the difficulty of accounting for the Romans despoiling their cemeteries, and thereby violating their well-known law on the matter. As bearing on this point,

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Opposite p. 80.



I may quote from Mr. Roach Smith,<sup>1</sup> "The Roman burial places were secured to the owners by law, being held to be sacred. It was sufficient for the true freeholder, in order to make a piece of his land inviolable, to bury a corpse in it. The act hallowed the spot, and made it a *locus religiosus*." Enough has been said to show that the included area in Northgate-street, was not the site of a Roman cemetery.

DID THE ROMANS BUILD THE MONUMENTAL STONES  
INTO THE WALL?

The other question, as to whether the Romans built the monumental stones into the wall, has not been fairly grasped or satisfactorily answered. If such is affirmed to be the case, it then means that the Romans were guilty of violating their sacred places, and despoiling monuments and tombs for the purpose of building a rampart. No instance of the kind is known to me. The fact has been mentioned that in Rome there are a few instances of a sepulchral monument built into the wall on the outside, to be seen and read by all. Such, for instance, as the case mentioned by Mr. Hodgkin of the tomb built up in the Porta Salara, in Rome, in the reign of Domitian, to the memory of the young poet Sulpicus Maximus, who died at the age of twelve.<sup>2</sup> Here it is apparent that the tomb has been placed there as a special mark of honour to the memory of a young and promising poet. Very different this from the treatment of burying the tombstone face downwards in the inside of a wall nine feet thick, and twenty feet high. If the desecration was not done by the Romans, was it done by the Saxons, who succeeded them? Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 89.

Roach Smith tells us: <sup>1</sup>“ The Saxons resorted to the Roman burial places as sacred and respected, for frequently the Roman and Saxon cemeteries are found contiguous to each other.” Other considerations have led us to the conclusion that the present wall was not the work of the Saxons, but some weight may justly be attached to this statement. We know that at the date to which I assign the construction of the wall ancient monuments were largely utilised as material for the building of walls, castles, and even churches. Hundreds of instances of this kind will be forthcoming if needful. The utilisation of Roman tombstones to build the wall, we have spoken of as an act not likely to have been the work of either Romans or Saxons. There is a further charge of mutilating the monuments to be preferred against the builders. Take for instance, the so-called ecclesiastical stone which, only for the mutilated faces of the females, would have ranked as one of the finest examples of Britanno-Roman sculptures; or the three-quarter life size figure of a standard bearer, from which all the features have been hacked away. Even in its present form Mr. Birch speaks of it as an elegant piece of Roman work, deserving a place of honour in the Museum. The condition of many of the monuments in the Museum is sadly suggestive of wanton mutilation. Very few persons, I think, would like to admit that the Romans were guilty of thus acting to the remains of their departed. Yet nothing is more certain than this—that if the Romans built the walls, as asserted, they committed the outrage.

#### ON THE PRESERVATION AND DURATION OF THE RED SANDSTONE OF CHESTER.

In considering the possibility of Roman work surviving to the present day in a wall above ground, composed of

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<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vii., p. 200.

our local stone, an interesting point is raised. Sir James Picton writes thus:<sup>1</sup> "We must remember that one thousand two hundred and eighty years have elapsed since the Saxon ravages, and nearly a thousand since the restoration by Ethelfleda. Supposing the walls had been left intact, the effects of time and weather, and the continued interference by successive generations, with their varying wants and requirements, and the necessary repairs from time to time, must have destroyed to a great extent the identity of the original construction. Not so, however, with the work below the surface. Here the masonry, protected from the destructive influences of frost and weather, if not intentionally interfered with, would last for an indefinite period in a sound condition." Here we have pointed out very clearly the different effects produced on our sandstone when exposed to the weather and when buried in the ground. Exposed to the weather it crumbles away in from two to four centuries; buried at sufficient depth it will last from one to two thousand years. This is true of all our stone work in Chester. Its age is limited. The Geological Survey thus remark of our stone:<sup>2</sup> "The inferiority of the stone from the pebble beds is shown by the condition of Chester Cathedral (before its restoration) and St. John's Church Tower." The remark of Sir James Picton that "the destructive influence of frost and weather, and repairs from time to time, must have destroyed to a great extent the identity of the original stone,"<sup>3</sup> is one with which I entirely agree; but in summing up his conclusions, while agreeing that the greater part of the walls is more recent,

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs Geological Survey So.*, s.w., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, 1887, p. 23.

he regards as Roman an exposed wall two hundred yards long and twenty feet high, having previously shown that such a survival was impossible. To look at the point more in detail, Sir James Picton points out that the disturbing effect of eighteen hundred years must have destroyed to a great extent the identity of the wall if above ground; yet in a plate which is given there are figured the minute details of an existing cornice moulding which is spoken of as a crowning feature in the Roman work. An unknown feature, I remark, in Roman castramentation. We are required to suppose that this cornice has remained unimpaired under exactly those conditions which would have destroyed it.

#### THE WEATHERING OF RED SANDSTONE.

As the effect of weather on our weak stone bears directly on the question, a few remarks in further elucidation of the subject may be allowed. The Phoenix Tower may be cited as an example. This has been recased three times in three hundred years. Again, Pemberton's Parlour was repaired in the reign of Queen Anne, and again wholly recased within the last ten years. Of the other Edwardian Towers fully two-thirds of them have disappeared, and the remainder restored and recased, until scarcely an original stone is left. As to the Cathedral, of its appearance prior to the late restoration, we are all more or less familiar. Its condition was thus described by a competent authority, the late Sir Gilbert Scott: <sup>1</sup>"The decay of the external stonework throughout the Cathedral is most lamentable—probably no building in England has suffered so severely." In confirmation of this, I would point to the as yet unrestored western angle of the south transept.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, vol. iii., p. 180.

It will be seen that the facing stone, eighteen inches deep, has wholly decayed, and the inner core of the wall has been laid bare. This is the result of four hundred years' exposure. Another illustration of the weathering of our sandstone is to be seen in the fourteenth-century work of the Abbey Gateway. The outer walls of the upper storey have been missing for the last one hundred and fifty years. So far as the outer walls of the Cathedral are concerned there have been four restorations. The finest relic of old masonry in the city is the Water Tower, at the north-west angle of the walls, built in 1322. It is now just five hundred and sixty-seven years old. Its weather-worn stones tell of the effect of time, for some of them are cut back twelve or fourteen inches. It has been much repaired at various periods during the last two hundred years. St. John's Church will furnish another illustration. Mr. J. H. Parker describing the tower, which in 1857 was a distinguished landmark, says of it: <sup>1</sup> "The walls were cased on the exterior, and the upper part built in the time of Henry VIII., and the tower now appears entirely as one of that period. The surface of the stone, which has been richly ornamented with panelling, especially on the north side, has again perished, so much as to require to be renewed a second time." Its story is briefly this. Rebuilt in 1509, stone perished, and ornamental work disappeared and required rebuilding in 1857. This was not done, and so in 1884 the tower fell. What could more strongly emphasise the fact of the natural weakness of our local stone? Built in 1509, fell in 1884. Similar was the fate of two other towers belonging to the church, which fell in the sixteenth century, after a life of three hundred years. In the instance of these church towers, four hundred years has been the

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<sup>1</sup> Parker's *Mediæval Architecture of Chester*, pp. 6, 7.

extreme life of the stone. With the evidence of these local examples before us, we have only to show that the stone in the north wall is in every respect identical with that used in the buildings quoted, and a very strong case is made out that the wall was not built by the Romans, or it would have perished ere this. The evidence is to hand. The bed of stone on which Chester is built carries with it, so to speak, a brand in the shape of small well-rounded pebbles scattered through the stone. Now, looking over the front of the north wall near the Northgate the pebbles are visible to the eye projecting from the stone. This completes the evidence, proving beyond doubt that the north wall is built of our local sandstone.

#### MR. BROCK'S OPINION OF THE RED SANDSTONE.

We will now consider the opinion of Mr. Brock on this question, who evidently has not the intimate acquaintance with our sandstone possessed by Sir James Picton. The conclusion come to by Mr. Brock is, that it was possible to find a red sandstone capable of resisting the action of the elements from Roman times even when exposed to the weather. In confirmation of this view he remarks that at Bebington Church the tool marks of Norman date are plainly visible. Unfortunately for this illustration Bebington Church is not built of red sandstone, but from a stone of a different geological horizon; and therefore the case is not one on all fours with our local sandstone. Apart from this circumstance I am told by a local resident that the tool marks visible on the outside are not in Norman but sixteenth-century work. Another instance given is from the Vicarage grounds of Bromborough. Mr. Brock there found several examples of interlaced work of Celtic type. These stones, we are told, are perfect, and that the stones have borne the test of exposure for

nine hundred years. I have much pleasure in giving what I doubt not is the real history of these interesting stones, forwarded to me by Mr. Cox, a resident at Bebington. The stones are part of one or more Runic crosses—say of pre-Norman date—which originally stood in the church-yard, and on their decay, between A.D. 1400 and 1500, they were replaced by a larger Gothic cross, of which only the massive base now remains. The fragments of the earlier crosses were afterwards built into the walls of the church, where they remained until about sixty years ago, when some repairs once more brought them to light. Their preservation, such as it is, is due to the same action as the Roman stones in the north wall—namely, exclusion from the weather. The history of these crosses, as we have seen, gives no countenance to the idea that our sandstone when exposed will last eighteen hundred years. For what are the facts? The Norman cross perished in A.D. 1500, and the one replacing it has only the remnant of a base left. So we have two successive crosses existing eight hundred or nine hundred years. Into the difference of opinion regarding the behaviour of our sandstone, expressed by Sir James Picton and Mr. Brock, I do not think it necessary for me to enter further.

ROMAN STONES FOUND IN THE WALL NO PROOF OF  
ITS ROMAN ORIGIN.

The fact of Roman stones having been found in the north wall Mr. Brock would regard as proof of its Roman origin, and he cites the case of the Roman walls of the cities of Gaul, &c., as having been constructed of masonry that had formed part of older Roman ornamental buildings ; also the case of the four bastions, similarly constructed of Roman sculptured stones, built against the Roman wall of London. For the bastions he would claim a later Roman

origin, but still Roman. Regarding our north wall, the walls of certain cities on the Continent, and the bastions outside the London wall, as probably of the same age, I am in agreement with Mr. Brock. The point is, however, what is that age? The more general view of the Continental antiquaries is that they are not Roman, or even if Roman, of a date long after the period of the Romans leaving Britain. We are in a far better position for discussing the age of the bastions built on the outside of the Roman wall of London, since we have the full details respecting them furnished by Mr. J. E. Price, who was deputed by the Corporation of London to undertake the work. These bastions, it should be understood, were semicircular erections, built on the outer side of the Roman wall, which was constructed, after the usual fashion, of small stones and bounding courses of brick. As showing the likeness of the bastions to our own wall I cannot do better than quote from Mr. Price's report on a bastion of London wall : <sup>1</sup> " This structure was entirely composed of materials collected through the destruction of ancient monuments. No less than forty cartloads of sculptured stones were removed, which varied in size from two to five superficial feet ; several were even larger, and comprised for the most part sepulchral memorials, fragments of tombs and inscriptions, mouldings of varied patterns, pilasters, and capitals." The above, word for word, aptly describes what was found in our north wall.

#### THE POST-ROMAN AGE OF NORTH WALL AND SIMILAR WALLS ELSEWHERE.

The report then continues: <sup>2</sup> " It was at the foundation of the structure that evidence appeared of the

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.



post-Roman date to which the erection of the bastion belonged. Beneath the lowest bed of stone, and near to the centre of the structure, a portion of green glazed pottery was found; the ware (to say nothing of the glaze with which it was coated) was sufficient to indicate that neither the pottery, nor the bastion beneath which it was found, could be attributed to the Roman age." Further on Mr. Price speaks of a Roman sepulchral monument, which, <sup>1</sup>"falling into decay, became a suitable quarry for mediæval builders, providing them with convenient materials for the erection of a structure requiring such solidity and strength as would a bastion to the city wall. The size of the stones and their enormous weight show them to have been close at hand." Mr. Price adds: <sup>2</sup>"This bastion, like its companion at Tower Hill may have been constructed as late as the thirteenth century, perhaps a portion of those substantial repairs said to have been effected by Henry III." Mr. Price expressly alludes to these facts, "because," as he says, <sup>3</sup>"the published reports which have appeared of our discoveries speak of both the bastion and the wall as belonging to Roman times, while, as I venture to think, the evidence goes far to prove that the former was an addition, erected, if not as late as the middle ages, at a time long subsequent to the occupation by the Romans, and that the wall itself must no longer be assigned to a period so remote." Mr. Brock refers to the fact that Mr. Price examined these bastions, but he does not mention the facts adduced by Mr. Price. I have endeavoured to supply the omission. It is important to note—first, the identity in composition and construction between the London bastions and the north wall of Chester, and the almost absolute

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

certainty that the age of the former is Edwardian, to which period I would assign the building of the north wall. Secondly, the finding of green glazed pottery beneath the bastions. In Chester we have found yellow ware and Jacobean tobacco pipes near the base of the wall. This evidence is important. If the wall is Roman a variety of articles are sure to be found, such as coins, fragments of glass, pottery, iron, &c., of a contemporaneous age. The late excavations have laid bare a considerable space around the wall. This, according to the surveyor's report, is what was found: <sup>1</sup>"a very small quantity of tile fragments, but coins, pottery, or other relics were remarkably distinguished by their absence." Sir Henry Dryden also remarks on this point: <sup>2</sup>"No mortar, Roman or mediæval, no pottery, no coins, no iron remains were found." Now, in Gloucester an excavation was made down to the base of the Roman wall, with the result "that all along the lower part of the wall a continuous heap of Roman pottery, Roman bone pins, and Roman remains of all kinds were found."<sup>3</sup> Now, Deva was a more important Roman station than Glevum, and hence in a similar position Roman relics should at least be as abundant. Instead of that, we are told such are conspicuous by their absence. Why, we ask, are these Roman relics absent? The answer is, because it is not the Roman wall that we have to do with at Chester. To revert back to the stones for a moment, we have brought forward evidence to show that the occurrence of undoubted Roman stones in a wall is far from being conclusive on the point that the wall is necessarily of Roman age or Roman construction.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters in Academy*, Oct. 1, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> *Bellews' Roman Wall of Gloucester*, p. 158.

MR. ROACH SMITH AND OTHERS ON THE AGE OF  
THE NORTH WALL.

In a full review of the character of Roman work Mr. Roach Smith thus sums up his reviews as to the north wall: <sup>1</sup>"We may therefore look upon what is left of the walls of Chester as affording an example of civic fortification, not exceeded in antiquity by that of any Roman remains in this country." As marking the time when this discovery as to the age of the wall was made, we are further told that if "Roman work had been suspected to exist in the Chester city walls, it has never before (*i.e.*, prior to 1849) been verified."<sup>2</sup> In 1872 we have Wright re-echoing the opinion. He says: <sup>3</sup>"We seem to have sufficient reason for considering the remains of the walls of Roman Deva, as examples of the earliest style of masonry used by the Romans in their walls of defence in this island." Another antiquarian authority, J. E. Price, in 1880, writes thus: "In this country the use of an ashlar facing of stone and tile is all but universal, and in comparing works still standing at Colchester, Verulam, York, Lincoln, Porchester, Pevensey, Richborough, Lymme, Leicester, Silchester, Wroxeter, and elsewhere, it will be observed that, while the materials selected are those locally accessible, the form and style adopted is uniform throughout. It is, however, not met with at all in Chester, where the walls are of high antiquity."<sup>4</sup> One important piece of evidence brought to light by the late openings in the wall is that it contains Roman monuments of the second or third century. Now,

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<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Archaeological Association*, vol. v., pp. 211, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Wright's *Uriconium*, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 1880, p. 1,

considering that the Romans were in Chester as early as 48 A.D., and since it is obvious that the wall cannot be older than its contents, it follows that instead of being an example of the earliest Roman work in this country it must, if Roman at all, belong to the latest. It must, in fact, be post-Roman, since there are moulded stones which show the weathering of three or four centuries before having been placed in the wall, pointing to a time long after the Roman occupation. We can, therefore, understand why it is that the so-called Roman masonry in the wall is unlike any other Roman work in England. In the quotations given above, the north wall is described as an example of the earliest Roman work in England. But this view of late seems to have become untenable, since Mr. Brock now states that it represents an extension of the Roman castra in later Roman times.<sup>1</sup> The older antiquaries saw only the outside of the wall, and conjectured that in the large stones they saw an approach to the massive stones used in Roman buildings on the Continent some centuries prior; and hence concluded that it was allied to that early work. Now, those who abandon this view, and assign a late date to the wall, come into conflict with serious matters of fact. Roman work after the first or second century of Roman rule in Britain began to show signs of deterioration. This is very marked in the later wall work—the lettering of inscriptions, the sculptures, the pottery, and notably the coins. To assign the north wall, which has been compared to some of the finest mural work on the Continent, to this later and decaying age of Roman art, is to the wall at any rate not flattering. Since the above was written Mr. Roach Smith has written stating that he now believes the wall to be “of comparatively late,

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 53.

instead of an early origin, as he once imagined."<sup>1</sup> As I have shown above, it matters little whether an early or a late Roman date is assigned, whether it be referred to the higher or lower empire, since the main features of the wall are not in harmony with either of the periods mentioned.

#### CHANCELLOR FERGUSON'S COMPARISON.

In the report of his opening address last year to the Section of Architecture at the Leamington meeting of the Archæological Institute,<sup>2</sup> Chancellor Ferguson gives in parallel columns a very impartial review of the more salient points in this controversy, as gathered from published accounts by Sir James Picton and myself. The Chancellor rightly says that under some heads the two accounts are very hard to reconcile. This is only likely to be the case when I explain that Sir James Picton wrote of what was seen in the course of the explorations made in 1887 and 1888, whereas my statements were based upon trifling excavations made in 1883 and 1884. The earlier excavation on the inside of the wall was carried out by Dean Howson at a trifling cost, whereas the later sections seen by Sir James Picton cost £120, raised by public subscription. It is evident that my description of what was seen in 1883 did not necessarily apply to the openings of 1888; the more so as the latter were not made at the same spot. At no point were the excavations more successful than were those made on the Roodeye. The several courses of stone there brought to light for the first time, seem to have convinced Chancellor Ferguson and Sir James Picton that what we have

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<sup>1</sup> *Antiquary*, February, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Opening Address, Section of Architecture, *Journal Archæological Institute*, 1888.

there is the remains of a Roman landing-place before the retiring of the Dee. To this view of the case I see no objection. It is probably correct. My objection all along has been that it was no part of the wall of the Devan castra, as asserted by some.

#### WHAT HAS BECOME OF ROMAN DEVA?

A few years ago, if asked what relics we had in Chester belonging to Deva, we could only point to a few stones, which might all have been placed on a table, while fifty years ago a cupboard would have held all our Roman remains. So few, indeed, were the tangible proofs of the Roman occupation that a stranger might well have called in question the received opinion that Chester was a leading Roman station. It is only within the last five years that we have found where and to what extent these remains are to be met with. Mr. Brock brings this out when he tells us <sup>1</sup>“I have taken the cubic contents of the stones acknowledged to be Roman in the length of wall from the Northgate to the Phoenix Tower. There is sufficient to build a tower as high as that of your Cathedral and fourteen feet square, solid.” In addition to this section, there are two others of the same length. I allude to the length of wall from the Phoenix Tower to the Eastgate, and from the Northgate to Morgan’s Mount. So that we have of admittedly Roman stones now existing in our walls a sufficient quantity to construct three solid towers, fourteen feet square, and as high as the Cathedral tower, namely, one hundred and forty feet; or we can have, if it were an architectural possibility, a solid square tower of fourteen feet, and four hundred and twenty feet high. This amount of material would be sufficient to erect a series of buildings

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 50.

along at least one side of Bridge-street. Again, we have found, from a comparatively small opening in half a mile of wall, fragments of cornices of different patterns, which must have formed part of ten or twelve large buildings. To judge from the size of the stone, they indicate a style of structure not inferior to existing public buildings in Chester, except as to height. What revelations, as to the temples and other buildings might we not expect to obtain from the rest of the wall if similarly explored? If twenty-five feet of walling have given us one hundred and thirty-eight Roman worked stones, what might we expect from the two thousand or more feet yet to be uncovered? It is evident that we have in the walls, at the points mentioned, a large part of the best buildings in Roman Deva. In this way we have worked out the question, what has become of Roman Deva? The walls for us are a record office, in which is preserved the story of the builders and buildings, so far as we may gather it from commemorative tablets, altars to strange divinities, sepulchral inscriptions, &c., &c. In short, the history of Deva and its people for two or three centuries, so far as can be gathered from such relics, is contained in the walls, and only await examination to fill up what is at present a blank in our early history.

#### SECTIONS AND MAPS OF THE WALL.

The first sketch of the wall given in vol. ii. of the Society's *Journal*, and in *Roman Remains in Chester*, we are told, is from an "original drawing," which I may add was used by Mr. Brock to illustrate his paper on the walls. I pointed out its inaccuracies at the time,<sup>1</sup> which was confirmed by gentlemen present.<sup>2</sup> It subsequently transpired that the

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

drawing in question was executed some months before the opening described by Mr. Brock was made in the walls. Further, we notice that it is a "diagrammatic section," and therefore not an accurate representation of the details of the wall, such as the size and order of the stone, &c. Again, <sup>1</sup>"it is plotted from dimensions taken at various points," and consequently is not a true section of the wall, at any one given point. It is a misfortune that we have not a real section to refer to, since both drawings are "diagrammatic." Or better still, that photography was not brought into use. I would further point out that the first section drawing shows the stones of any particular course to be all of the same thickness, while in the map there are nine courses, in which two stones are needed to make up the requisite thickness. This is not shown on either of the sections of the wall. In the catalogue of stones found, given in the above volumes, there are seven large stones, including cornices, and two inscribed stones, said to have been found in no regular course. This irregular course is not shown on either of the sections. The first and third section of the wall show twenty courses of stone; the map twenty-one courses. In both sections the stones are shown as evenly squared and placed in regular position. Sir James Picton says of eleven feet of the wall shown on the section, <sup>2</sup>"That the stones have been thrown in promiscuously without any order or attempt at bedding." These very irregular courses of stone do not appear on either of the sections. The size of some of the stones now in the Museum does not agree with the size of the course from which they came—as given on the first

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., section facing p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Presidential Address, *British Archaeological Association*, p. 28.



section. For instance, some of the stones are deeper than the course, while others are half the thickness. Much of the misconception which has arisen as to the age of the wall is due to the wrong impression of its construction conveyed by these maps. Of the leading one it is sufficient condemnation of it to say that it was in existence months before the section dealt with by Mr. Brock was opened in the wall.

THAT THE NORTH WALL WAS CONSTRUCTED BY THE  
ROMANS IS NOT TENABLE.

So far as the north wall is concerned, it is claimed for it by Mr. Brock and others that it was constructed by the Romans.<sup>1</sup> Let us see what this position involves? It means no less than that Roman hands must have pulled down important edifices—it may have been the Prætorium, the Basilica, or Baths, and we know not what—and afterwards placed the materials where we now find them in the walls. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Romans would be guilty of such folly? Some of these buildings did not fall by natural decay, judging by the condition of the stones. These buildings were essential to the efficient maintenance of the civic and military life of Deva. Such an act of destruction would be intelligible if the position were about to be evacuated, but in that case there would be no motive for the erection of the wall by the Romans. Again, assuming that the walls were built by the Romans, we cannot understand why they should have sacrificed their public buildings to its erection when the same kind of stone was cropping out in various places, nowhere more than two feet below the surface, yielding an unlimited supply of building stone. History records no event calling

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 52.

for this sacrifice from the Roman army of occupation. Advocates of the Roman origin of the walls must remember that in addition to imputing to the Romans almost unaccountable folly, there is also a further charge of barbarism, as shown in the mutilation of the sepulchral monuments, knocking off the heads of figures, and otherwise defacing the features. The truth concerning these Roman stones would seem to be, that after the devastation of the Britons, Danes, and Saxons, of which we have heard, the ruins of Deva became covered up and hidden away, until some great building era in the middle ages when the stones were utilised in the way described.

#### THE NORTH WALL REALLY OF EDWARDIAN AGE.

It now only remains to mention the evidence in favour of the Edwardian age of the north wall. First of all, we have the notice of Ralph Higden, our local chronicler in the time of Edward I., who writes of the ruined material then to be seen in and about the city, similar to the contents of the wall, as including, "huge stones engraven with the names of ancient famous persons," which aptly describes the Roman sepulchral stones, and he adds, "when I beheld the groundwork of buildings in the streets, laid with strong huge stones, it seemeth that it hath been founded by the painful labours of Romans, or giants." This would correctly describe the Roman buildings which we know existed in Bridge Street. This evidence shows that prior to the thirteenth century there was still remaining in Chester, plenty of unused Roman stone work. The question is, was it made use of in the way suggested? Let us look at the surrounding circumstances. Edward I.'s reign was a remarkable one. His influence was more felt in this district than in any other part of England. He was in Chester in the years 1275, 1277, 1278, 1281, 1282, 1283,

1284, 1285, 1295, and 1300, staying often for weeks when organising his expeditions into Wales. During this period, to consolidate his power, he built hereabouts the Castles of Holt, Ewloe, Hawarden, Flint, Rhuddlan, Denbigh, Conway, and Caernarvon, made roads, and made good the defences of the city, including the castle and walls with their seventeen circular towers. As the base line of his operations in Wales, he could do nothing less than see that Chester was in a perfect state of defence. According to Sir Gilbert Scott, it was not only castles, but cathedrals, as Chester and Bangor, that were greatly indebted to him.

In building his castles, Edward adopted at Caernarvon the plan of using the material from the Roman station of Segontium, close by. At Conway the Roman station of Conovium was dismantled to build Aberconway. The same doubtless went on at Flint, and at Rhuddlan also, and contributed in all probability to the disappearance of the Roman station of Varis. At Chester I maintain that the same course was pursued; the Norman wall was then decaying, and on the north and east face required renewing, and for the speedy accomplishment of the work of repair, old material, rather than new, was employed, and the remaining Roman ruins and cemeteries were laid under tribute to furnish the stones. The action I have suggested on the part of Edward is probable and natural. That he would have occupied in force all other strategic points, and neglected his base seems incredible. It is true that we are not able to produce the account, showing the amount expended at this time on the repairs of the wall, since the civic murage books, dealing with the matter, only commence with the seventeenth and eighteenth years of Edward IV. = 1478 and 1479. That it was repaired is proved beyond doubt by the existing remains of Edwardian work in the walls. Indeed, Mr. Brock

admits the existence of Edwardian work<sup>1</sup> "in the whole of the wall from the large unmortared stones to the parapet," and he has figured a stone with a distinct mason's mark of Edwardian date.<sup>2</sup> How these undoubted Edwardian stones came to be found in a wall which is claimed to be "Roman in date from base to summit"<sup>3</sup> is a serious difficulty, unless upon the assumption that the wall is of Edwardian age. The wall cannot be older than its youngest fragments. Other observers have noticed stones from the wall with mouldings of a mediæval type. There is further the evidence of Braun's map of Chester in Elizabeth's reign, showing the walls, towers, and castle, all restored after the most approved Edwardian type. The north wall in this map is shown as having no less than seven circular towers along its front. Until it can be shown that this map is not trustworthy, I shall hold the case to be proved that Edward I. did in his time have the city walls, and in particular the north wall, put into a state of efficient repair. It would be easy to show that in the revival of building at this period, the re-use of Roman stones was common enough in all parts of the country. We find them in churches, and bridges, and farm-houses in the vicinity of Roman stations. At Bath, a Roman town, there was a wall built up similarly to our north wall, of Roman monuments, and building stones, but the historians of Bath have wisely made no claim for the same being Roman. Ralph Higden, in his day, could not fail to see the Roman foundations on the east side of Bridge Street. When the site was cleared in 1864 it was instructive to notice, that all that remained consisted of some twenty stone columns and bases. All the plain stones, and all that could be utilised to construct a wall

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chester Archaeological Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40, plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

had disappeared. No fragments of columns were found in the north wall. Hence it would seem not unlikely that the Roman buildings in Bridge Street contributed their quota of material to rebuild the north wall in the thirteenth century.

#### RESUMÉ OF THE POSITION.

We have now concluded our examination of the arguments recently brought forward concerning the north wall. We have had before us all that could be urged in favour of the walls being Roman, in the sense of the present stones having been laid in their present position by Roman hands. I leave others to judge whether that position can be said to have been proved or rendered probable. Let me recall some of the points which I think have been established. We started with the admission that the wall was unlike any other wall in England; we have also seen that it is unlike any admittedly Roman work in England, while it is very similar to local mediæval work. We have also seen that the inclusion on so large a scale of Roman tombstones is unparalleled by any work of the age alleged. No work of a like character can be found in the first four centuries of the Christian era, while from the middle ages down to the nineteenth century the re-use of Roman material has been going on. Further, a long stretch of wall twenty feet high, with earth as a substitute for mortar, and held together by an earthen bank in the rear of fifteen feet, can have no claim to be considered of Roman construction. In its composition it is more nearly allied to the rubble walls of the Cathedral. Then there is the stone itself, which beyond question is local, and very perishable. We have no walling in Chester that has existed five hundred years without repair. The recent repairs at the walls would go to show that it too had

reached the extent of its endurance, some five hundred years. We have brought forward evidence to show that Chester has had a Roman, Saxon, Norman, and Edwardian wall, and that what is now found sometimes above, and sometimes below, the surface is the base of the Edwardian wall. The wall, in fact, has not a single distinctive Roman feature, and no valid grounds have been brought forward for disturbing the view held by local antiquaries for so many generations, that no part of the Roman wall is to be seen above ground, and that much of what is now visible in the older parts of the wall is of Edwardian age.





# NOTES ON THE TOMBSTONE OF M. AURELIUS ALEXANDER, IN CHESTER.

BY M. ROBERT MOWAT, OF PARIS.

*(Read 24th March, 1890.)*

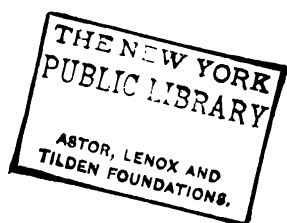
THIS inscription is incised within a dovetail ansated panel on a block of stone, about one foot eleven inches in height by three feet two inches in width. The subjoined lettering is from a good paper squeeze carefully impressed on the original stone, and kindly forwarded to me by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole.

D	M
M·AVRELIV//·ALEXAND	
PRAE////////CAST·LEG·XX	
///·NAT·////////RV////////C <sup>c</sup> ////	
///·AN·LXXII·//////////	
////////ICES·ET·S////////	

Although the lower margin is entirely destroyed, one may easily perceive that the inscription never had more than the six lines still visible, and of which the three last ones have been much damaged at both ends; besides,







several letters in the middle remaining parts have weathered away. Those of the upper lines may be restored in such a manner that we may safely depend on the reading,

*D(iis) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Aureliu[s] Alexand(er),  
prae[f]ectus) cast(rorum) leg(ionis) vigesimae.*

The destroyed lettering is enclosed within square brackets, the expanded lettering within parentheses.

At the beginning of the fourth line, the gap was certainly filled with the letters, now lost, V . V, *V(aleriae) V(ictricis)*, the usual denomination of the Twentieth Legion. Next comes the lettering NAT, the well-known abbreviation of *nat(ione)*, which does not answer to our word "nation," but means "by birth;" it was applicable to foreigners originating from any part of the empire, except Rome and Italy, and followed by an ethnical qualification. Consequently, the word [*Et*]RVSC[us] is not to be thought of, the more so as the Etruscans existed no longer, in the sense of a political body, after the year 221 B.C. This leaves us no other choice for an ethnical qualification but [*Sy*]RVS or [*Su*]RVS, according to the Greek or the Latin orthography; it must be observed that this word is but a generic term, for Syria comprised many nations; hence one meets frequently with denominations such as *Syrus Caesariensis*, *Syrus Garasenus*, *Syrus natione Arabus*, and this leads us to suppose that the two letters following [*Sy*]RVS in the inscription are the beginning of some Syrian people's name. Of these letters, the first is a round figure, which has lost its right portion, and may be read either O or C; the latter has lost its lower part, and by its size gives more the idea of the top of an S than of an O. The two letters would then be either CO or OS, and the whole word would be restored thus, CO[mmag(enus)] or OS[roen(us)]. I leave this point to be decided by the antiquaries of Chester, who have the opportunity of ascertaining which is the most suitable reading on

the stone. All this agrees well with the cognominal name Alexander, which tells us plainly that its owner originated from the eastern parts of the empire, where the current language was Greek; whilst his prenomen and gentilicial name show that the Roman citizenship had been bestowed on him by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius or by his son Commodus, or, more likely, by Caracalla.

At the beginning of the fifth line, the words AN(*nis*) LXXII were necessarily preceded by [VIX]/(*it*), and perhaps followed by a complementary number of months and days.

After the age of the deceased, we expect to find in the sixth line the names of the persons who erected the memorial. The first one ends with the letters ICES, for which [*Polyn*]ICES seems to be adapted most conveniently; this name, although rare in epigraphics, is exemplified by an inscription in Rome,<sup>1</sup> commemorating the circensian feats of a notorious chariot-driver, M. Aurelius Polynices, bearing the same prænomen and gentilicial name, M. Aurelius; this shows that he was the freed man of a master similarly denominated, whom I suppose to be the very M. Aurelius Alexander here commemorated.

As for the other person who contributed to the funeral monument, we are at a loss to fill up the name, which has only left its initial letter, S; I would suggest one, such as Seleucus, merely for the sake of matching with the other Greek names, Alexander and Polynices. Most likely the line ended with the usual abridged formula, H . F . C, *h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*.

To sum up, the expansion of the whole inscription would be:—

*D(iis) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Aureliu[s] Alexand(er),  
prae[f](ectus) cast(rorum) leg(ionis) vigesimae V(aleriae)*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, vi. 10049.

*v(ictricis), nat(ione) [Sy]ru[s] Os[roenus], [vix(it)] an(nis) duo et septuaginta, [m(ensibus) . . . ]*; [*Polyn*]ices et *S[eleucus?]*, [*h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*].

To the Gods of the Dead! Marcus Aurelius Alexander, prefect of the quarters of the Twentieth Legion, surnamed the Valeria Victorious, by birth a Syrian from Osroene, lived seventy-two years, . . . months, . . . days. Polynices and S(eleucus?), his heirs, took the care of erecting this memorial.

The rank and duties of *praefectus castrorum* answered those of the quartermaster-general in our modern armies; they were never conferred but upon a *primipilus*, the title by which the first *centurio* in a legion was distinguished from his fifty-nine colleagues.

Strange to say, visitors to the Vatican Museum may read on a cippus inscribed to a *primipilus* the very same names, M. Aurelius Alexander, and those of his wife, Aurelia Antiochiana, obviously a Syrian woman. The inscription purports that this officer selected, close to his house in Rome, a funeral ground reserved in future for himself, his family, and household. It would then appear that, in consequence of this promotion to the rank of *praefectus castrorum*, he was subsequently ordered to join the Twentieth Legion in Britain, at Deva, where he died and was buried, contrary to his expectations and desire of being interred in the tomb he had prepared in Rome. This curious inscription deserves to be confronted with the Chester memorial; it is here subjoined at full length,<sup>1</sup> without any further remark, save an explanation of the letters V . E, at the end of the first line, which mean *v(ir) e(gregius)*, a qualification to which the *primipilus* was entitled, since his rank gave him admittance to the equestrian order:—

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<sup>1</sup> See *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, vi. 3554.

D †

M †

M † AVREL . ALEXANDER † PRIMIPIL † ET V E †  
 VIVVS . SIBI . ET . VXORI . SVAE † AVRELIAE  
 ANTIOCHIANAE . HVNC † C E POTAPHIVM  
 SEPARAVIT . DE . DOMV ET FECIT . OMNIBVS †  
 SVIS . POSTERISQUE SVIS LIBERTIS †  
 LIBERTABVSQVE . POSTERISQVE † EORVM †  
 ET . PRAECEPT . HEREDIBVS NE QVIS †  
 EXTRANEVM VELLIT . PōNERE . VEL  
 VENVM DARE . VEL . FIDuciARE . VEL †  
 DONVM DARE . VEL VLLO modo † ALI  
 ENARE † NAM POST HAEC PrAECEPTA †  
 SI QVIS † AINVENTVS (*sic*) † FVERIT † HOC †  
 FECISSE † INFERAT † SACRO . FISCO  
 SESTERTIA . CENTVM MILIA NVMMVM

To the Gods of the Dead! Marcus Aurelius Alexander, first-spear centurion, ranking in the Egreious Order<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* Equestrian), when still living, set this funeral ground apart from his house, for himself, for his wife Aurelia Antiochiana, and for all those belonging to him, for his posterity, for his freedmen and freedwomen and their posterity, and prescribed his heirs to allow no one to build thereupon for any other purpose, or to sell, or to mortgage, or to give, or any other wise alienate this ground. For, after these prescriptions, if any one should be found to have transgressed them, he shall pay to the Sacred (*viz.* imperial) Treasury a fine of a hundred thousand sestertia (*viz.* pennies).

It would also appear that the young M. Aurelius Polynices, who was then in Rome with his patron, the *primipilus* Alexander, and allowed by him to perform in the circus, followed him to Britain, where he assisted him in his last moments.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vir Egreius* is not a laudative compliment, but an official qualification, the form of which must be preserved in the English translation, as far as possible.

We know the names of a few other *praefecti castrorum* in Britain: *Poenius Postumus, praefectus castrorum secundae legionis*, recorded by Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 37, in the year 61; *M. Pompeius Asper, praef. castr. leg. xx. Victr.*, in an inscription published by Orelli, No. 3809; *P. Anicius Maximus, praef. castror. leg. II. Aug. in Britannia*, year 43, in an inscription of Asia Minor, published in the *Ephemeris epigraphica*, v. p. 976; besides the Caerleon inscription, . . . (*tun*)*ius . . . ussus praef. castror.*, and the Tibur inscription, *praef. cast. leg. VI. Victr.* (Gruter, p. 1110, 11).

This inscription to M. Aurelius Alexander, found in the city walls on the 19th of August, 1887, was published for the first time in the *Chester Courant*, on August 24th following, and afterwards by Mr. J. P. Earwaker in his book, *The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester*, 1888, p. 19.





## THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF DEVA (CHESTER).

BY PROFESSOR HÜBNER, OF BERLIN.

(Read 24th March, 1890.)

THE general interest caused by the remarkable architectural, sculptured and epigraphical finds made during the two last years in the north wall of Chester is a well-founded one. Those finds are not, as so many others, only of local importance; but, by throwing new light on the history of the Roman dominion in Britain, they illustrate to a certain degree the politics of the later Roman empire. This is the point I hope to establish by a careful analysis of the epigraphical part of the finds, not yet given, so far as I can see, with the thoroughness due to the importance of the subject. I shall not enter, for the moment, into the topographical question, whether that part of the north wall, from which so extraordinary a number of stones of Roman workmanship has been extracted, is Roman work *in situ*. The question seems to me, I confess, so far as a judgment may be allowed to one who has not yet studied the question on the spot, nearly decided in favour of its Roman origin. I refer especially to Mr. Charles Roach Smith's, Sir J. A.

Picton's, and Mr. W. L. Brock's latest papers.<sup>1</sup> But, if it is Roman work *in situ*, there arises the other and no less important question, viz., under what circumstances, and by whom, during the Roman dominion, it was erected. For the solution of this question the following epigraphical notes will perhaps prove of some use.

As I am no eye-witness of the recent finds—for it is more than twenty years since I was in Chester—I depend on the information forwarded to me by Mr. George W. Shrubsole, of Chester, who, although an opponent of the Roman origin of the present walls of Chester, must be considered a high authority respecting all things connected with the history of his town, and by my particular friend, Mr. Robert Blair, an eye-witness of undisputed intelligence, and without the slightest local bias. The late Mr. Thompson Watkin's work (*Roman Cheshire*, Liverpool, 1888, 4to, with numerous illustrations), as also the same author's annual epigraphical reports (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv., 1887, p. 117 f., and vol. xlv., 1888, p. 167 f.); Mr. Shrubsole's catalogue of the Grosvenor Museum, which repeats in very useful conciseness the epigraphical illustrations of the before-named work (*An Illustrated Catalogue of the Roman Altars and Inscribed Stones in the Grosvenor Museum*, &c., Chester, 1888, 8vo); Mr. Frank Williams's nicely illustrated "Synopsis" (*Synopsis of the Roman Inscriptions of Chester*, &c., Chester, 1886, 8vo); and last, but not least, the recently published and highly instructive work of Mr. J. P. Earwaker (*The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester*, &c., Manchester, 1888, 8vo, with numerous illustrations) have been, of course, duly consulted.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xlv., 1888, p. 39 f., p. 129 f., p. 135 f.



In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii., published in 1873, I was able, from manuscript and printed sources, together with the personal inspection of the few then existent monuments (there was then no Museum at Chester), to put together only about a dozen epigraphical monuments found in Chester. Subsequent casual discoveries of single monuments and the contents of the north wall have added to this modest stock about fifty more epigraphical monuments, including complete specimens and fragments of various size and importance, besides those manifold remnants of Roman edifices, tombs, &c., alluded to before. I earnestly hope, in common with all the numerous students interested in the history of the Roman period of Britain, that the Chester discoveries have not yet come to an end, but that other parts of the north wall will yield many more monuments of the same class as those already discovered there. I am not now prepared to give here a full supplement to my former epigraphical collection, such as I am planning for the supplementary volume of the *Corpus*, which I hope to begin to print in due time. But I propose to consider the inscriptions, both those known before and those newly discovered, under the same general headings as they are arranged in the *Corpus*; because that arrangement has proved to be at once the most comprehensive and the most instructive.

I begin, therefore, with the *inscriptiones sacræ*, the dedications to gods and goddesses, on altars, &c.

The most conspicuous and important monument of this class is the large altar, preserved since 1836 in the British Museum (C.I.L. vii. 164; Watkin's *Cheshire*, p. 173; Williams's *Synopsis*, p. 19). The name of the imperial legate, apparently the legate in command of the Twentieth Legion, whose household offered this pedestal of a triple statue to the *Fortuna redux*, *Æsculapius* and *Salus* (that

is, *Hygiea*, or the divinity of his health), most likely after a long journey and some bad health eventfully overcome, is, from the peculiar narrow and vanishing character of the letters, not fully made out. He was, as men of high birth used to be in the epoch to which the monument belongs, a polyonym, combining in his the names of some other illustrious families; *Titus Cætroni*us (as I suppose, or *Pomponius*, as others read it) *Titi filius Galeria Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus*. He has not yet been identified; but his epoch is nearly fixed by the character of the nomenclature as well as by palæographic reasons. It cannot be earlier than the beginning or middle nor later than the end of the second century. By no means can he be attributed to the time of Diocletian, as one of Mr. Ch. Roach Smith's friends once proposed. I am inclined to consider him as a contemporary of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius at the latest.

Of about the same epoch is the dated altar (it is from the year 154 of our era), erected to *Jupiter optimus maximus Tanarus* (which is a local name occurring only in this single instance, and, therefore, not easy to explain) by one of the subaltern officers, a *princeps* of the Twentieth Legion, a native of a town, whose name is also uncertain.<sup>1</sup> The stone exists in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, but its face is so entirely worn out that it is utterly unreadable, and we have to depend from the old copies (C.I.L. vii. 168; Watkin, p. 167; Williams's *Synopsis*, p. 13).

Again, of about the same epoch, is the well-known

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<sup>1</sup> The old copies read *Gunia* or *Guntea*; but this is by many reasons an impossible reading. Lately *Clunia*, the well-known Spanish town, has been proposed, to which the tribe *Papiria* agrees; but this is also only a guess.

Greek dedication to the mighty saviours (perhaps also *Æsculapius* and *Hygiea*), erected by the physician Hermogenes, preserved in the Chester Museum (C.I.L. vii., p. 48; Watkin, p. 179; Shrubsole, p. 13; Williams, p. 25). Though it cannot be proved that he was that same physician Hermogenes, who, as Cassius Dio relates (lxix. 22), assisted the emperor Hadrian in his last illness—which was ingeniously suggested by the late Sir J. Y. Simpson,—because there were many Greek physicians of the same name; still the character of the lettering belongs most clearly to the middle of the second century, and not to a later epoch, as others have stated. It is uncertain, but by no means impossible, that this physician had some official relation to the legion stationed at Chester.

There is in the Chester Museum another incomplete altar, dedicated to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, with the curious emblems of a goose (q. if a swan?) and a serpent, found in 1884 (Shrubsole, p. 23; Williams, p. 38). This, and that of Minerva, also in the Museum (C.I.L. vii. 169; Watkin, p. 186; Shrubsole, p. 19; Williams, p. 30), may occur everywhere, though they may be called characteristic, in a certain way, of the worship of a Roman legionary camp. The last of the two is curious as being offered by a *mag(ister)*; which indicates that there existed at Chester, as at Rome, a society, perhaps of the *fabri* of the legion, under the protection of that divinity, with its usual officers, the *magistri*. More characteristic for the military settlement is the incomplete altar of *Mars Conservator*, found in 1877 (Watkin, p. 184; Shrubsole, p. 15; Williams, p. 36). All these altars may, by style and palæography, safely be attributed to about the second century; but can also be a little earlier.

A very characteristic group is formed by the three dedications to different *Genii*, viz., the *Genius loci*, for the health

of the emperors, by a tribune of the legion (C.I.L. vii. 167; Watkin, p. 170; Shrubsole, pp. 24 and 32; Williams, p. 15); the genius of his *centuria* of the legion, by an *optio* of the same (C.I.L. vii. 166; Watkin, p. 180; Shrubsole, p. 17; Williams, p. 28); and the very small one generally considered as belonging to the *Genius Averni* (C.I.L. vii. 165; Watkin, p. 177; Shrubsole, p. 30; Williams p. 24); but, in all probability, also that of a *centuria* of the legion.<sup>1</sup> These essentially military dedications belong all, as the originals preserved in the Chester Museum will easily show, to the second century. The latest of them by the character of its lettering, that named in the first place, on which with the statue of the Genius with the *cornucopiae* and the faint remains of a text belonging to it, are figured, may, as it mentions the *domini nostri invictissimi Augusti*, be attributed to Severus and Caracalla; but may be perhaps ascribed also to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; which makes no great difference in its epoch. It was found in 1693 in a cellar in Foregate Street and not in the walls.

Of the same character is the small altar of the *Nymphae et Fontes* of the Twentieth Legion, found in a field at Great Boughton, near Chester, and preserved in the grounds of Eaton Hall (C.I.L. vii. 171; Watkin, p. 176). It may have belonged to the *prata legionis*, where the cattle for its use was kept. The inscription, repeated on both sides of the

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<sup>1</sup> The squeeze and a facsimile drawing of the second line, for which I am indebted to Mr. Shrubsole, show clearly that AVRÑ is not on the stone, but 7 AVRÑ. And though Mr. Shrubsole qualifies the mark before the A as recent and accidental, I nevertheless incline strongly to take it for the usual centurial mark, the inverted C and to read *c(centuria) Aurini*. Aurinus is certainly not a common name; but Aurina seems to occur C.I.L. x. 51 and v. 2352. The *Genius Averni* is a thing quite unheard of, and by no means to be accepted on such weak an authority as this text, in which, in fact, it is not to be found.

massive altar, is certainly not younger than all those mentioned before.

There remain of this class of inscriptions two mutilated ones, dedicated to the *Numina Aug(usti)* or *Augustorum*. One of them is long lost (Horsley, p. 316; C.I.L. vii. 170; Watkin, p. 187; Williams, p. 58). It mentions some inferior military charges, an *act(arius)* and perhaps a *cor(nicularius)*; as some lines of it seem to be cancelled on purpose, it can be easily combined with the reign of Severus and Caracalla.<sup>1</sup> The other fragment existing in the museum looks like the rest of an epistyle of an *aedicula*; it contains only the words *Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) et . . .* in elegant characters of the second century (Watkin, p. 190; Shrubsole, p. 26; Williams, p. 59); and may be attributed safely, as Mr. Watkin suggested, to the joint emperors of that epoch, viz., Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Severus and Caracalla.

All dedications, therefore, hitherto found in Chester are intimately connected with the military character of the place, and none of them later than the end of the second century.

In military places like this and the similar ones in Britain and elsewhere, one must not expect to find many specimens of the second class of epigraphical monuments, viz., inscriptions on public buildings of a more secular character. Certainly there existed in Deva, besides the *prætorium*, some other official edifices, which seldom were adorned with dedicatory inscriptions, as belonging to the necessary requisites of all such establishments. Of a large bath, as usual in every garrison, extensive remains have been

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<sup>1</sup> Horsley's reading *almae Cæ[re]ræ* is not proved by his proper copy, which is made with his usual care, and in itself object to grave difficulties. A certain correction and explanation of the words in question has not yet been found.

found<sup>1</sup>; of such an edifice the inscription on a tessellated pavement, of which only a cast exists in the Museum (C.I.L. vii. 174; Watkin, p. 193; Williams, p. 64) may have formed part. Other buildings may have been destined for military exercises, such as mentioned in other military places, as an *armamentarium*, a *basilica exercitatoria*, a *ballistarium*, and the like. But only some fragments of large monumental inscriptions, which may have belonged to that sort of edifices, have been found in Chester. One of them was found in 1863 in Bridge Street, and first edited by Dr. T. N. Brushfield in the *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*, vol. iii., 1864, p. 1 (and thence by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi., 1874, p. 352), and is now preserved in the Museum (Shrubsole, p. 29; Williams, p. 60). It is of Purbeck marble, and the large letters are beautifully cut. The first line contains only the inferior parts of the three letters OGI; not OCT or OCA (the G is distinct, and the last foot rather that of an I than of an A). In the second line DOM after a dot is clear. The letters . . . *ogi* . . . are not often to be found combined; one might think of a [*horol*]*ogi*[*um*] dedicated by one *Dom[iti]us*. Two other fragments with large, beautiful letters were found in 1884 at the Kaleyards postern (Williams, p. 63); they are too mutilated to give any sense. It may be borne in mind that none of these fragments came out of the north wall or other parts of the walls.

Of a different kind is the fragment found in 1888 in the north wall, which I repeat from the *Roman Remains* (p. 126), after a squeeze. It is a piece of rather rude workmanship, cut out or belonging to a range of similar stones once composing a more extensive text. The letters, from nine to seven centimetres in length, are of what one may call

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 133.

an archaic character, from the complete want of elegance; the M is of that peculiar broadness, which is an unmistakable proof of the first century. It seems as if they had been filled in with bronze. They read easily:—

M·ET·I

ACRA

FA

A doubtless expansion is, of course, impossible;<sup>1</sup> but I think there is no doubt that the text must have run nearly in this way:—

*aede]m et p[orticum?*

*. . . s]acra[m illi deo*

*ille] fa [ciendum curavit*

I consider it as belonging to the epoch of the very foundation of the place, in Nero's reign, and mentioning one of the first sacred and public buildings of it; of course, *aedes et porticus* are only a guess, for which other words may be substituted. The modest old edifice will have given way to a later and larger one; so its stones could be made use of in the north wall.

To a certain degree the want of inscriptions relative to public buildings in military establishments is compensated by those strictly in connection with the military work. All military stations in Britain, and so the two large frontier walls in the north, have furnished the so-called centurial stones, which form a nearly exclusive feature of Romano-British epigraphy. It is well remembered by British archæologists that they have been submitted to some strange interpretations of late. But leaving aside those rather fantastical endeavours, there can be no doubt that they are the official records of the work done by the single military members, legions, cohorts, centuries. We

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<sup>1</sup> The dots in line one, omitted by the editor, seemed to me clear in the squeeze.

have some six examples of them in Chester; none of them found *in situ*, as some of those of Hadrian's wall in the north, but neither taken out of the north wall of Chester. Of most of them the reading is plain; it is no use to enter into the discussion of the last letters of one of them (C.I.L. vii. 172; Watkin, p. 121; Shrubsole, p. 28; Williams, p. 52), as a satisfactory expansion cannot be given. Their lettering, partly very rude, as usual in those military records, and the names of centurions they contain, almost certainly belong still to the first century.

But, by the way, I may mention a small epigraphical monument not belonging to the class just mentioned, though in appearance somewhat similar. It is the small leaden tablet, with a rudely perforated handle at the back, now in Mr. F. Potts's possession (C.I.L. vii. 1268; Williams, p. 65). It bears in two rows of letters in relief, turned to the left, and, therefore, obviously destined for impression, this inscription:—

> CL AVG  
VIG

That the first line signifies  $\mathfrak{C}$ (*centuria*) *Cl*(*audii*) *Aug*(*ustalis*)—or some similar *cognomen*—nobody will contradict. Mr. Watkin was particularly unfortunate in claiming for the second line the interpretation of *vig*(*ilum*), and to conclude hence that a body of firemen, like in Rome and Lyons, existed in Chester. Obviously there is not the slightest probability for such a supposition, nor can the word *vigiles* easily be combined with the *centuria* of Claudius Augustalis. What *vig* . . . signifies I confess I am ignorant, though the words *viginti* or *vigesima* offer themselves for consideration. Nor is it possible to state what use might have been made of the leaden stamp. But, whatever its use was, it shows that the military establishments in Chester must have given opportunities for an



extensive traffic, for which the wooden piers of the river wharf with their iron shoes, lately described by Mr. Shrubsole,<sup>1</sup> give sufficient evidence.

By far the most numerous class of Roman inscriptions, at every place and in every epoch, were, as we all know, the sepulchral ones. Nevertheless, from Chester the *Corpus inscriptionum* could give no more than a single example (n. 175) of a characteristic form, on which I shall have to present some observations further on. It is that of a lady; not a single military tombstone had been found up to that time. The recent discoveries have furnished some *twenty-six* military tombstones, some of them of high interest. I shall not enumerate them in the alphabetic order of the names of the deceased, according the principle adopted in the *Corpus*, and almost necessary for such a collection. I will try to arrange them in a historical order, forming some different groups of them according to their approximative age.

The formula *dis Manibus*, not heard of in old republican Rome, begins to be in use from Sulla's time, and becomes more frequent from the Augustan age downwards. Its absence is, if other evidences concur, a true sign of relative antiquity. According to this observation, a first group of soldiers' tombstones can be formed.

A plain square slab, found in the north wall in 1888, bears the following inscription in characters well worthy of the Claudian or Neronian epoch (*Roman Remains*, p. 107, Plate VII.) :—

Q·LONGINVS  
POMENTNA  
LAETVS·LVCO  
STP·XV  
5      > CORNEL·SEVER

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<sup>1</sup> In a paper on the traffic between Deva and the coast of North Wales in Roman times, printed in the *Journal of the Chester Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. i.

*Q(uintus) Longinius Pomentina Lætus, Luco, stip(endiorum) XV, X(centuria) D(ecimi) Corneli Severi.* *Longinus* is a very scarce name of a *gens* (though common as *cognomen*), but used by divers soldiers in the legions of the east in the Augustan age. So we could accept it; but Mr. Shrubsole observed, that the ending was rather in *ius*, N and I being combined. *Longinius* is a more common form. *Laetus* is this man's *cognomen*. The name of the tribe written in full, the word *miles* and name of the legion, also that of an heir or dedicant, wanting; the number of *stipendia* alone, not that of the years of life, indicated, and the *centuria* at the end, with the centurion's two names—all these are certain signs of the first half or middle of the first century. That he was a legionary soldier is shown by the indication of the tribe, which implies Roman citizenship; citizens only served in the legion. I consider this man a soldier of Ostorius's army, who fell in that legate's expedition against the Silures. What place of the name of *Lucus*, of which there were not a few, was his home is difficult to say. The tribe Pomentina indicates an Italian town; but the Italian *Lucus* seems to have been ascribed to the tribe Sergia, not to the Pomentina or Pomptina. But as some individuals of the same tribe have been found on several inscriptions from the north of Spain, I think it probable that the Spanish *Lucus Augusti*, now Lugo, is meant. At any rate, this is evidently the oldest tombstone found hitherto in Chester, and one of the oldest in Britain generally.

Next in age, so far as I can judge, come some fragments, as that of the sepulchral slab of one *Lucius Annius Luci filius Tro(mentina) Marcellus* (the rest is wanting), in which the *dis Manibus* is wanting (*Roman Remains*, p. 8 and 12), and perhaps two more (*Roman Remains*, p. 22, No. 14, and 123), too small to be repeated here.

Not much inferior in age, though the *D(is) M(anibus)* is added, are the following, which form a second group of soldiers' tombstones.

Found in the north wall, 1887; a plain square slab with large letters of the first century, of m. 0·1 to 0·07 height (*Roman Remains*, p. 6 and 21):—

D       M  
M·CLVVI·M f.  
AN·VAENTVS  
FORO·IVLI

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Cluvi(us) M(arci) [fil(ius)] Ani(ensi) Valentius, Foro Iuli . . .* This man was a native of *Forum Iulii* in the *Gallia Narbonensis*, the modern *Fréjus*, which was also *Agricola's* native town. It belonged to the tribe *Aniensis*; the Italian *Forum Iulii* was of the *Scaptia*. The missing part of the epitaph may have contained the usual indications: *miles legionis XX. V. v., stipendiorum tot, annorum tot, heres fecit*, or the like. Two things are remarkable: first, the abbreviation *Cluvi*, which is not the genitive, but the nominative, as the cognomen *Valentius* proves; it is an abbreviation of a somewhat archaic character. And secondly, the cognomen *Valentius*, which is at this epoch a very unusual one. I guess the man had none at all originally, and claimed himself simply *Marcus Cluvius*; but in order to fill up the scheme of the three names common to Roman citizens he gave himself, or was distinguished by his comrades with, that name, alluding to his personal valour. The peculiar nomenclature of Roman legionaries offers some examples of the kind. His services may have fallen under the reigns of *Nero* and *Vespasian*.

Also not complete, but essentially of the same kind and epoch, is the following plain sepulchral slab, with deep cut letters of a somewhat unequal and semi-rustic character,

varying in height from m. 0·08 to 0·07, and with large triangular dots (*Roman Remains*, p. 8 and 14):—

D            M  
M▷SEXTIVS▷m·f  
CLAV▷ BELLICUS  
C<sup>r</sup> A▷CELEIA▷A  
5        n n ORVM▷X<sup>v</sup>  
sti    PEND iorum . . .  
.....

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Sextius [Marci filius] Clau-  
(dia) Bellic[us], Cla(udia) Celeia, a[nn]orum XX[X . . .  
sti]pend[iorum [X . . .] . . .* The M's are particularly broad, and the L's show the rustic or cursive form, first observed in monumental inscriptions of about Cæsar's time in Gaul and Spain, in Claudius's time also in Rome (see the author's *Exempla scripturæ epigraphicæ*, p. lxi.). Celeia in Noricum, this man's home, the modern Cilly, was surnamed Claudia; and this second name does, as often in military inscriptions, the duty of a tribe (to which, in fact, the man was not ascribed), and is therefore placed between the name and the *cognomen*, but repeated erroneously in another form of shortening with the name of the town itself. This is the only possible explanation of the repeated Claudia which can be given. Then follow the usual indications of the years of life and service.

The Roman legionary soldier, as a citizen and full-armed man, like the Greek *ὁπλίτης*, used to have a servant or two with him, slaves, or freedmen. These, if he had no wife or relation or near acquaintance in the ranks, used to be his heirs, upon whom fell the care of providing a decent tomb, by the deceased's will or by their own love and reverence. Numerous instances of that use could be given from the military tombstones of Britain and other provinces of the Roman empire. Tombstones, therefore, carefully carved

and ornamented, as they prove a certain steadiness of settlement and a somewhat advanced prosperity of a place, may be considered as forming in the series of those epigraphical monuments a third group, belonging approximately to the last third of the first century and the beginning of the second, from the reign of Domitian to that of Trajan.

As a good specimen of this group we have the following monument, found in the north wall in 1888. Of the statue of the man, placed as usual in a flat niche, there remain only the feet. On the inferior part of the *cippus*, the inscription, in bold characters (from m. 0'065 to 0'045 in height) of the declining first century (not so beautiful as those of the Longinius inscription, placed on the same Plate VII. in the *Roman Remains*, p. 100), runs thus:—

D M P RVSTO  
FABA CRESCEN BRX  
MIL LEG XX V V  
AN XXX STP X  
GROMA HERES  
FAC CVR

*D(is) M(anibus), P(ublio) Rustio | Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia), mil(iti) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis) an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) X. Groma heres fac(iendum) cur(avit).*

Under the first row of letters the stonecutter, not an able man, traced a line in the surface of the stone to guide him, and disposed carefully the space for the single letters, making use, for the purpose, of combined letters. But the D. M. placed in the same line with the rest of the text, the unusual shortening of the *cognomen*, Crescens, whilst the name of the tribe, usually shortened, is given in full, have a provincial flavour. Brixia, the modern beautiful town of Brescia, from whence this young Italian soldier followed in his twentieth year the eagle of the legion, to die ten years

later, perhaps killed by a Briton, belonged to the tribe Fabia. Out of the warlike mountaineers of Brixia and its environs many legionary soldiers came; a standard bearer of the Twentieth Legion, who was decorated twice by the Emperor Tiberius, as his epitaph preserved at Brescia tells us (C.I.L. v. n. 4365), can have won those prizes of valour only in Britain. The heir of our Rustius Crescens, apparently his slave or freedman, bore the curious Greco-Latin name of *Groma*, which is probably the rod for measuring; he got it perhaps for his skill in pitching his master's tent.

A more complete specimen of the same kind is the tombstone, found in the north wall in 1887, and figured on Plate I. of the *Roman Remains* (p. 7 and 15). It shows, in rude workmanship, the deceased centurion's portrait in full size, standing by the side of that of his wife. He wears not the full armour of service, but a kind of undress costume, as is often used on the soldiers' monuments, but leaning his right hand on the official emblem of his dignity, the *vitis* or vinestick; his left seems to hold a script roll, also a usual emblem. His wife has a fan in her right, while with her left she holds up her dress quite in the present style. The inscription, in small but sharp and deep-cut letters (m. 0.03 high) of the first century, is plain:—

D.                    M.  
M·AVR·NEPOS·>LEG·  
XX·V·V·CONIVX·  
PIENTISSIMA·F·C·  
VIX·ANNIS·L

*D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus)<sup>1</sup> Aur(elius) Nepos x(centurio)*

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<sup>1</sup> After the M is a large, long-tailed dot, which has been mistaken for the M' with five strokes, signifying *Manius*, or, which is quite impossible, for a shortening of *Mar(cus)*. It is simply M and a dot. The stone-cutter had first given NEOS only, by a mistake, and afterwards adjoined the P between E and O, which hardly entered into the small space.

*leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis); coniux pientissima f(aciendum) c(uravit); vix(it) annis L.* On the side, beneath the mason's instruments, hammer and axe, is the formula known especially from Gaulish inscriptions, from which country the man may have brought it over, SVB|ASCI|A D, *sub ascia d(edicatum)*, that is: fresh from the axe, and not used before. The concise shortness of the whole text, and the remarkable modesty of the wife, not to tell even her name in it, are almost certain proofs of the first century style.

Another very common type of ornamented sepulchral monuments are those which, after a well-known Greek model, represent the deceased reclining on a couch, taking his meal, which is placed before him on a little tripod table, and often holding a drinking cup in his right, assisted by his wife or servants. A very thorough discussion has taken place of late, between archæologists, about the true sense of these representations, by some of them supposed to be allegorical or votive. I agree with those who take them for simple representations of daily life, in a somewhat idealised shape. A large specimen of this class, unfortunately broken in the middle, is furnished by the monument of Aurelius Lucius, the horseman, found in the north wall in 1888 (*Roman Remains*, p. 109). He is figured in the above-mentioned attitude, a servant before him; a helmet and a short dagger, suspended in the background, are the only visible tests of his military character. At the feet of the servant there is besides a perhaps ornamental human head or mask, which I cannot explain satisfactorily. The lettering of the inscription below is not elegant, the letters (m. 0.05 high) being particularly inclined to the right, but they cannot be younger than the latter part of the first century, as shown by the forms of the E and F, and the large triangular dots. It is simply:—

AVRELI·LVCI  
EQVITIS  
H·F·C

*Aureli(i) Luci(i) equitis ; h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*  
The extreme shortness of the epitaph, the silence about what sort of an *eques* the man was, whether a legionary one or one of an auxiliar *ala*, and the particular form of the name (I am not sure if he named himself *Lucius Aurelius* and postponed the *praenomen*, or *Aurelius Lucius*, using *Lucius* as a singular *cognomen*), agree with the comparatively ancient epoch, to which it may be assigned.

This type of the deceased reclining on a couch seems to have been a favourite one at Chester. We have it besides on the monument of *Furius Maximus*, a soldier of the Twentieth Legion (*Roman Remains*, p. 10 and 18, Plate IV.), on that of a lady, *Cesonia Severa*, found in 1861 (Shrubsole, p. 9, Williams, p. 46), on that of one *Flavius Callimorphus* and the little *Flavius Serapion*, found in 1874 (Shrubsole, p. 7, Williams, p. 47), and in three other examples, whose inscriptions, with the exception, in part, of the usual D. M. only, are lost (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 20, Plate III. and IV.; Williams, p. 45). All these monuments can be safely ascribed to the first half or middle of the second century. This is proved in some instances by the names, as in the two *Flavii*, in all of them by the similarity of style and rude workmanship.

But of the other type also, that with standing figures in relief, a good many tombstones must have existed at Chester. There was one of a standard bearer (*Roman Remains*, p. 127, Plate XIII.), fairly well preserved, but missing the lower part with the corresponding inscription. Of some other bas-reliefs of the same sort, fragmentary, I saw sketches from Mr. Blair's hand. Precisely of the same kind is the far-famed so-called "ecclesiastical stone," most



certainly only the sepulchral monument of two females, and, so far as I can judge of the workmanship by a photograph which lies before me (thanks to Mr. Shrubsole), not later than the beginning or middle of the second century. It is, with all its rudeness, superior to the tombstone of Aurelius Nepos, the centurion, and his wife.

Not distinguished by sculptured ornaments, but for some other reasons to be considered as of about the same epoch with the monuments just described, is a slab also found in the north wall in 1888, with the following somewhat puzzling inscription (*Roman Remains*, p. 112, Plate X.) in large letters (height, on the first row, m. 0'12):—

DIS M  
L·ECIMIVS  
BELLICIANUS  
VITALIS·VETR  
5 LEG·XX·V·V  
HIC·SEPL

*Dis M(anibus) . L(ucius) Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis, vet(e)r(anus) leg(ionis) XX V(aleria) v(ictoris), hic sep(u)l(tus).* As I observed before, the names of Roman legionaries are, in the first century, often only externally so to say Romanised, but really barbarous or semi-barbarous. *Ecimius* is no Roman name; the third line of the inscription ought to have contained the tribe and perhaps the home of the man, but gives instead a *cognomen* *Bellicianus* (the A and N joined); the second surname *Vitalis* is a common one. He was a veteran of the Twentieth Legion, and must have served therefore at least twenty-five years, and may have died under Domitian. The shortenings of the formulæ *Dis m.*, *vetr.*, and *hic sepl.* are not the usual ones, and have an archaic turn.

Not to a veteran, but to a soldier disbanded for some reason or other, perhaps for his health, belongs a fragment,

found in the north wall in 1888 (*Roman Remains*, p. 122), whose palæographic character (the letters are well cut and about m. 0.06 to 0.05 high) assigns it to about the same epoch:—

MISSICI  
VA·B TR  
XX·III·VIXIT  
I

[*Dis Manibus illius*] . . . *missici* . . . *va* (rest of the name of his native place or of the military corps, in which he served) *b(eneficiarii) tr(ibuni)*; [*militavit annis*] *XXIII*, *vixit* [*annis* . . . ] *V*. He had served probably in the Twentieth Legion, for the last time not in the ranks, but for some special service ordered by the tribune, the commander of the legion (that is the sense of the charge of *beneficiarius tribuni*), and was disbanded, by a *missio honesta*, after only twenty-three years of service.

Along with each legion, as is universally known, marched and garrisoned always a certain number of auxiliary troops on foot and horseback. One single fragment of a tombstone belonging to a soldier of that class has hitherto come out of the north wall, in 1888, bearing an inscription of no elegant character, but still, if I am not wrong, of the epoch we treat of (*Roman Remains*, p. 116):—

INN·XXVI  
I VRMA·VIII·X  
FRATER·FEC

*Di Manibus illius* . . . . .; *militavit ann(is) XXVI*, *turma VIII (et) X*; *frater fec(it)*. In the legion there were only four *turmæ* of horsemen, of thirty horse each; this man, who served in an eighth and a tenth *turma*, therefore necessarily must have belonged to an auxiliary *ala* of horsemen, whose name certainly was specified once in the missing part of the text. It was perhaps one of the

numerous cavalry of the Batavians, renowned for their skill in swimming, as mentioned in Tacitus' *Agricola*. The deceased man's brother and natural heir made him the monument, which may have borne in its upper part a bas-relief of the horseman riding over his prostrated friend; a type not unfrequent in the neighbouring places of Roman garrisons, as for instance in Cirencester.

Of the auxiliary infantry no specimen has been found hitherto in Chester itself. But from the Roman station at Caer Gai, near Bala, went to the Chester Museum a slab, found there in 1885, which Mr. Shrubsole, from the character of the stone, considers that it came originally from Chester. Its inscription is this:—

IVLIVS·GAVERONIS·F  
FE·MIL·CHO·I·NER

*Julius Gaveronis f(ilius) Fe(lix),<sup>1</sup> mil(es) ch(ortis) I Ner(viorum)*. From the six cohorts of the warlike Celtic or German tribe of the Nervii—world-wide known by that day on which he (Cæsar) overcame the Nervii—this is, besides Trajan's diploma of the year 105, which mentions it, the first and oldest inscription belonging to the first. We expected that it would have served in the first century in the south of the island; the others appear, in a somewhat later epoch, between the garrisons of the north.

To fix the epoch of epigraphic monuments more exactly than for a century, or half a century, by palæographic materials, is a task whose difficulty is perhaps known only to those who have made a special study of epigraphic palæography. It is with all the reserve due to the subject,

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<sup>1</sup> The man, though a *peregrinus*, will have had a Roman *cognomen*, like *Felix*, or a barbarous, beginning with *Fe* . . . ; there is no other expansion of the letters possible. It is not probable, at least, that it contains an abbreviated indication of his birthplace. *Fectio*, now Vechten in Holland, was a Batavian town.

therefore, that I venture to form a fourth group of military monuments, found in Deva, out of the following inscriptions.

If one might judge from the external appearance and the neglected forms of the letters, the next monument in question could hardly claim a place between those of the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. But it is a fragment only, and may have been ornamented, in its upper now missing part, by a bas-relief. What remains is the inferior part of a slab, found in the north wall in 1887, containing only the end of a sepulchral inscription (*Roman Remains*, p. 6 and 17):—

.....  
PVB· LEG·V·MACED·ET·  
VIII·AVG·ET·II·AVG·ET XX VV  
VIXIT·ANNIS LXI·ARISTIO  
LIB·H·F·C

... Pub., >(centurio) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicæ) et VIII Aug(ustæ) et II Aug(ustæ) et XX V(aleria) v(ictoris); vixit annis LXI; Aristio lib(ertus) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit). I cannot give a certain expansion and interpretation of the first word; it may be the abbreviation of the tribe Publitia. What Mr. Watkin proposed, *curatori operum publicorum*, is too high a charge for a simple ex-centurion, and not heard of in provincial and military towns like Chester. The rest of the text is clear. Two of the legions in which this man served as a centurion, the two last named, the second and the twentieth, belonged to Claudius' army, which he sent to conquer Britain, and which remained in the island. The eighth *Augusta*, garrisoned at Mentz, gave a *vexillatio*, a detachment of a thousand men, to the same expedition, and so did probably the fourth *Macedonica*, also garrisoned at Mentz. But that the fifth *Macedonica*, from its quarters in lower Germany, at Xanten, ever went to Britain is quite unknown. This man

might have served first in it in Germany, and then, transferred to the eighth Augusta, have come to Britain. All this considered, together with his sixty-one years of life, it is impossible to put this monument later than the end of the first century, that is the reign of Domitian, or almost the beginning of Trajan's.

A little later perhaps, but falling still within the first half of the second century, seems to me the following, not ornamented, monument, which was found in the north wall in 1887. The letters, m. 0.045 high, are not bad, but not to be compared to the specimens of the former groups; the M is not broad, but has perpendicular legs (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 18). The text is this:—

	D	M
	M·AVRELIVS·ALEXANDer	
	PRAEfec·CAST·LEG·XX v. v.	
	NAT·	RV ·CO
5	X·AN·LXXII·CC	
	'ICES·H·S c	

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Aurelius Alexand[er], præ-[fed(tus)] cast(rorum) leg(ionis) XX [V(alericiæ) v(ictricis)], . . . nat(ione) . . . , [vi]x(it) an(nos) LXXII, Co[rmelius] [Polyn]ices h(eres) s[ecundus] ? f(ecit)].* There are, unfortunately, some places on the surface of the stone so much damaged by some violent blows of a sharp instrument, that the reading remains incomplete. The supplements at the end of the first two lines are certain; certain also that of the charge of *præfectus*. It is uncertain whether there have been some more letters, and which, at the beginning of line four. The native town or land of the deceased is also uncertain. Mr. Ch. Roach Smith proposed RVCCONIO, from *Rucconium*, a place in Dacia, which scarcely can have been known to the Romans at that epoch, and still less the home of a soldier of rank; Mr. Watkin ETRVSCVS, which

in itself is not sufficient, when not followed by the name of a town in Etruria; M. Robert Mowat SYRVS COMMAGENVS, which in itself is not impossible, but does not appear on the squeeze I have before me to be the right thing.<sup>1</sup> The true reading has not yet been found. At the end one would expect as dedicants some military charges, such as the *cornicularii*, &c. But the existent letters, as suggested by so competent an eye-witness as Mr. Shrubsole, will not yield to such an expansion; the name of an heir, who erected the monument, can only be found in them, so far as I see. The well-known charge of the *præfectus castrorum* gives a hint about the epoch of the monument. By numerous epigraphical documents it has been established beyond doubt, that in the first century those officers, of not senatorial rank, but chosen out of the eldest centurions, held their charges without serving in a single legion. From the reign of Domitian, that is from the end of the first century, they entered into close relation to a single legion, as is here the case. This lasted the whole second century; from the end of it, or from Severus's reign, they are styled *præfecti legionis*. As this man died at the great age of seventy-two, we may put him with some probability nearer to the middle than to the beginning of the second century.

In this epoch, ornamental additions to the tombstones are to be found as well as in the former groups, and may have undergone, with the increasing prosperity of life even an increase. In the north wall was found in 1888 the monument of another *signifer*, the bas-relief roughly executed and much injured; still the hook, particular to the

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<sup>1</sup> But see M. Mowat's paper in this volume, pp. 114-119, in which a new and very probable reading is given, and the person to whom the tombstone was erected is identified in a very interesting manner.—ED.

inferior part of the shaft of the ensign, is to be recognised on it. Only the beginning of the inscription is preserved (*Roman Remains*, p. 119):—

D                    M  
at TIVS DIOGENE s  
SIGNIFER

*D(is) M(anibus) . [At]tius Diogene[s] . . . signifer [leg. XX V. v. ?] . . .* I have supplied the name *Attius* only as an example; in the second line the word *signifer*, so well agreeing to the bas-relief above, seems to me, from the parts of letters still existing, easily to be read. The form of the M, the Greek cognomen of the man, and the general aspect of the letters, are of the middle of the second century.

There is another specimen of the type of the man with wife reclining on couch, belonging to the same epoch. It was found in the north wall in 1888; besides the man, his wife is to be seen. The letters (m. 0.04 high) are faint and not well cut (*Roman Remains*, p. 103, Plate VIII.); the inscription is this:—

D                    M  
CECILIVS·DONATVS B  
ESSVS NA  
TIONE·MILI  
5 TAVIT·ANN  
OS XXVI·VIX  
IT ANNOS XXXX

*D(is) M(anibus) . Cecilius Donatus, Bessus natione, militavit annos XXVI, vixit annos XXXX . . .* The want of the prænomen, *Cecilius*, a rustic form for *Cæcilius*, are signs of a later epoch; the name of the legion omitted (if it was not given in the missing part of the text at a wrong place) is not necessarily to be considered as belonging to the elder age. Thracians, like this *Bessus*, came to Britain since Nero's time in auxiliary numbers as well as recruits

for the legions. The stone of Furius Maximus, before mentioned (p. 137), though perhaps a little earlier, shows the same bas-relief.

To the same type belongs a monument, whose inferior part only subsists, the upper part, with the bas-relief, being lost. It was also found in the north wall in 1888; the letters (m. 0.05 high) are faint (*Roman Remains*, p. 103, Plate VIII.). I read on the squeeze:—

	D	M
	TITINIUS·FELIX B	
	RIX·LEG·XX·V·V·MIL·AN	
	. . . VIX·ANN·XLV	
5	. . . SIMILINA·Co	
	NIVX·ET·HERES	

*D(is) M(anibus) . Titinius Felix, Brix(ia) ?, leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis), mil(itavit) an(nis) . . . , vix(it) ann(is) XLV. . . Similina coniux et heres.* The first three letters of the third line are not quite certain; also at the beginning of line five faint traces appear, perhaps indicating the *nomen gentile* of the wife. Brixia, the home of the man, occurred already in the inscription of Rustius Crescens (p. 134). The name of the wife *Similina* looks semi-barbarous.

Without ornaments, but of the same palæographic character, are two epitaphs more, found, the first, in 1888 in the north wall (*Roman Remains*, p. 124):—

	D	m
	G CES	
	VS·TEVRNIC	
	AN·XXX·MI	
	LEG·XX·V·V·Stip	
	X·H·F·C	

The position of the D of the formula *dis Manibus* indicates that about half of the inscription is wanting. A doubtless



expansion therefore is impossible; the text may have run thus: *D(is) [M(anibus)] G(aius) Ces[tius Ruf]us Teurni[a vixit] an(nis) XXX mi[les] leg(ionis) XX V. v. s[tip(en- diorum)] X; h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Teurnia is a town of Noricum, compare C.I.L. iii. p. 593.

The other was found in 1887 (*Roman Remains*, pp. 7 and 23):—

	D	m
	CLICINI	us . . .
	VETERANV	s
	VIX·AN·LXXX	
5	CVRA AELii	
	CANDIdi	

Instead of a servant or heir, it is a friend here, who took care of a monument for the deceased. The name Licinius is not quite certain. As this man was a veteran, we may put him also with some probability near to the middle of the second century. There is lastly a small fragment of a stone of one *C. Publius ? Primus* (*Roman Remains*, p. 123); it may be ascribed to about the same epoch. All these monuments are clearly not very much earlier than the middle of the second century.

This is also to be said about some plain sepulchral monuments, which have come to light along with the rest. Two of them, already known some time, have been mentioned before: that of Cesonia Severina and that of the two Flavii, Callimorphus and Serapion (see p. 137). Two have bas-reliefs, the one of two females standing, of which one was claimed *Domitia Saturnina* (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 20, Plate V.), the other of two youths, Hermagoras and Felix (*Roman Remains*, p. 120, Plate XII.). Two others, that of *Flavia Saturnina* (*Roman Remains*, p. 10 and 14), and of *Prima* (Williams, p. 44), are plain, but of the same epigraphical character, and not earlier than the beginning or middle of the second century.

To the first century I finally ascribe the last epigraphical monument to be mentioned here; a plain tombstone, found in the north wall in 1887, with the following inscription in bold letters (m. 0'06 to 0'05 high) (*Roman Remains*, p. 21):—

DIS·MANBVS  
ATLAN·L·  
ATLANVS·AN·X  
PROTVS·AN·XII  
5 POMPEIVS  
OPTATVS·DO  
MINVS·F·C

*Dis Manibus . Atilian(i) li[b(erti)]?*; *Atilianus an(norum) X, Protus an(norum) XII; Pompeius Optatus dominus f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. At the beginning of the second line there are some confused strokes; but the name Atilianus seems pretty clear. The text runs not in the usual way; it seems that Pompeius Donatus, the master, in erecting the tomb of his freedman Atilianus combined with it the memory of two *vernæ*, sons perhaps of the said freedman, Atilianus of ten years, whom we expect to have been older than his brother, who follows, and Protus of twelve. At any rate, the *Dis Manibus* written in full alone would make it probable that this inscription is contemporary to one of the elder groups of military monuments described before.

Finally, what is the result of our analysis of the epigraphical monuments hitherto found in Chester?

General conclusions from epigraphical evidence should always be made with the greatest reserve. There is scarcely an end to the unexpected revelations, which any day may bring forth. 'Who knows what facts the Roman walls of Chester—for I venture to give them that designation—may still contain in their interior? But so far as the present state of things allows a judgment, and with all the

necessary caution about further finds, an important fact presents itself to the observer. No one of the numerous monuments found in the north wall is later than the middle or second half of the second century; by far the greater number of them belongs to the latter part of the first. In the history of the government of Roman Britain, after the long period of a prosperous peace, due especially to the Emperor Hadrian's sojourn in the province, and his great military operations and fortifications, and a little later to the similar works of his successor, Antoninus Pius, a new epoch in the military history of the province is marked by the reign of Septimius Severus. Well known is his activity on the northern frontier, where he restored Hadrian's Wall thoroughly, whilst at the same time the garrisons from the camps upon the Scottish Wall were withdrawn. In the south the Silures, by their perpetual attempts of insurrection, necessitated a similar work of restoration and the re-enforcement of the Roman garrisons. It was Severus who removed the Second Legion from its old head-quarters at Gloucester more westward to Caerleon, in South Wales, and erected some new forts overlooking the Irish Sea. In connection with these measures, as we may suppose in all probability, it was he who undertook an enlargement of the old head-quarters of the Twentieth Legion too. In architectural enterprises he was, at least in the number of his buildings, not in their artistic perfection, a successful rival of Hadrian. The eastern provinces and especially the north of Africa, with its nearly numberless edifices, arches, &c., belonging to his time, give ample proofs of that fact. But every province, and not in the last place Britain, bears evidence of it. The great objection against the Roman origin of the north wall—and the other parts of the wall in general—at Chester is that they are built, to a great extent, with the use of Roman materials, amongst which tomb-

stones, as the nearest at hand, from both sides of Roman military roads just outside the towns, and not very much cared for after about a century had elapsed since they were erected, occupy a prominent place. This difficulty vanishes when we consider the enlarged walls as chiefly a work of Severus' time. The art of his epoch combines a still considerable technical skill with ruthless negligence as regards the monuments of former ages. The emperor's urgent desire to have the work of restoration done, in every part of the empire, with the utmost celerity, may account for the way of erecting the walls, so far as possible, from the hewn stones of other buildings, either in decay or not then used, without the use of mortar.

To what extent the enlargement was brought at this occasion, and what relation to the former circuit of the Roman circumvallation of the town it had, remains to be explained by further local researches. From Mr. Watkin's notes and the ground plan of the Roman town, given in his *Roman Cheshire*, I have not been able to form a sufficient clear idea about it. Also Mr. G. Esdaile's observation relating to the *area* once occupied by Roman Chester<sup>1</sup> needs to be proved by some further local research. The intelligent zeal of the Chester antiquarians and architects will furnish us ere long, I am sure, with the necessary data for the solution of that question.

This way of explaining the origin of the Chester walls, as it is perfectly consistent with the age of the monuments used in them, adds, at the same time, a new page to the history of the province, and no less to that of the kingdom. The Emperor Severus appears also in Britain as one of the last representatives of that military force and concentrated initiative, so prominent in the great rulers of the former

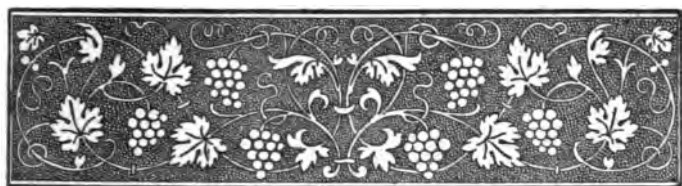
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<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xliv., 1887, p. 52.

ages. Even the slightest, and at the first look merely local addition to our knowledge of former times, adds something to our better intelligence of their politics and their men. This is the case, as I said before, in a rather prominent degree, with the Chester monuments. Those men, therefore, who have contributed to bring them to light and to explain and preserve them, have well deserved of the history of their country, and of that of the ancient world in general.

P.S.—These observations were written and sent to Chester in April, 1888. Since then Mr. F. Haverfield has published the Chester inscriptions in the *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. vii., 1890, p. 287 and foll., and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlvii., 1890, p. 243 and foll. Some of the inscriptions have been carefully re-examined by him and Mr. Shrubsole, and as a result some few corrections have been introduced into these notes.





## AN UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF THE REV. PETER WALKDEN IN 1733-4.

BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

*(Read 26th June, 1889.)*

THE MS. Diary, which I now exhibit, is the property of our Society, having been presented by our late respected Vice-President, Dean Howson. I was informed that it was the original diary of Bishop Peploe; but, on examination, I find it is an unpublished diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden, a Presbyterian minister and a well-known Non-conformist clergyman of the borderland of Lancashire and Yorkshire and the north-eastern corner of Cheshire. The MS. itself, it will be observed, is written in a clear but very small hand, so much so that it is very difficult to decipher the handwriting without the aid of a magnifying glass.

Mr. Peter Walkden was a native of Manchester or its neighbourhood, and was born 16th October, 1684. From 1706 to 1709 he was at "ye famous school at Manchester," under the Rev. James Cunningham. In the latter year he entered on his first cure in the Presbyterian ministry at Garsdale, where he remained until 1711. From there he removed to a farm at Thornley, near Chipping, which is situated in the borderland of Lancashire and Yorkshire, is

watered by the river Hodder, and is surrounded by Longridge and the other fells of that hilly and unfrequented district, which I believe is even yet uninvaded by railways. It was during this period of Mr. Walkden's life that this diary, together with others to which I shall presently refer, were written. In 1738 Mr. Walkden removed to Holcombe, near Bury, where he remained until 1744, when he assumed the charge of the Old Tabernacle at Stockport, in which town he died on the 5th November, 1769, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried inside his own chapel. Over his tomb his son Henry, afterwards a Dissenting minister at Clitheroe, wrote a Latin inscription setting out his virtues, according to the custom of the time. We are thus entitled to claim the diarist as being in part a Cheshire man, and this MS. diary has therefore an interest to the members of our Society.

In 1866 Mr. William Dobson, of Preston, published extracts from two of Mr. Walkden's MS. diaries for the years 1725-1729 and 1730, which had then recently been discovered in the rubbish heap of a cottage at Slaidburn, in the Forest of Bowland. Mr. Dobson mentions that some others of the diaries had been burned, and from the marks upon this MS. I judge that it has narrowly escaped such a fate; perhaps it is one of those which are supposed to have been destroyed.

In 1880 Mr. James Bromley read a paper upon these extracts of Mr. Dobson in illustration of the "Rural Life of a Lancashire Minister." This paper is printed in vol. xxxii. of the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*. Mr. Bromley's paper is a very able one, and sets out from these extracts the laborious hardships Mr. Walkden endured, and the variety of his occupations. In it will be found much valuable information respecting the prices current in 1725-30 of rents, live stock [the average

price of a cow was £5. 3s. 9d.], produce, agricultural requisites, labour [bricklayers were paid eightpence per day, and farm-labourers fourpence per day with their meals], food [beef was twopence per pound and mutton elevenpence per leg], drinks [ale was twopence per pint, claret five shillings and eightpence per gallon], and professional fees [counsel's fee £1, scholastic tuition two shillings and sixpence per quarter, while a funeral sermon was preached for the small sum of two shillings and sixpence].

Our diary begins in 1733, and bears this title on the parchment binding: "A Diary for the year 1733. The Lord Bishop of Chester's Sermon in this Book at Page 90 Preached before the House of Lords January ye 30<sup>th</sup> 1732/3." This sermon is copied out in full at page 91, and perhaps this is the reason why the MS. was supposed to be Bishop Peploe's diary. It is, however, a diary for the year 1734 as well as for 1733.

To give the whole contents or even a great number of extracts from it would be far too tedious, but as the diary was not only a record of the diarist's private concerns, but also of the public events of the day, I have culled from it such entries relating to Chester as I have been able to find, which are as follows:—

"Feby y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> (1733). We are told from West Chester y<sup>t</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> of January Last y<sup>e</sup> Poll ended there for members of Parliament: M<sup>r</sup> Grosvenor Poled 684 M<sup>r</sup> Manley Poled 518. But when the Paupers and Minors are taken out of M<sup>r</sup> Grosvenor's votes y<sup>r</sup> will be near a Ballance but y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> higher powers are to decide on Thursday. Likewise 23 Constables kept in pay as its said: Time will discover the truth of all: However those Constables voted for M<sup>r</sup> Grosvenor.

"Feby 20<sup>th</sup> (1733). From Chester we hear y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> corporation has been required to lay before the Parliament an



Account on all proceedings on y<sup>e</sup> Act past in y<sup>e</sup> 11 & 12<sup>th</sup> year of King William to make y<sup>e</sup> River Dee navigable. And in y<sup>e</sup> return there to y<sup>e</sup> Trustees charge £118 to be payd in one year for interest money, whereas y<sup>e</sup> said Act gives no power to y<sup>e</sup> Trustees to borrow money. The Trustees by the said Act are empowered to allow no more than one shilling in the pound for collecting y<sup>e</sup> duties thereby imposed and it appears by their accounts for recovering £1274 between the years 1716 & 1721 they charged £346-6-8 which is 6<sup>s</sup> in the Pound. That in y<sup>e</sup> account afs<sup>d</sup> taken from y<sup>e</sup> works and sold they charge themselves with no more than 6<sup>s</sup> a pile which piles had generally 20 feet of Timber in them and could not be less than 10 or 12<sup>s</sup> a pile. These hints are submitted to the consideration of every honest citizen."

" March y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> [1733]. This morning being in health I rose and prayed and praised God so provended the Nags; and being early in y<sup>e</sup> morning I foddered not y<sup>e</sup> Cows yet but Light my Candle and went into my closet and reviewing the newspaper I find y<sup>e</sup> observables following viz. that on y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> past Sir Thomas Grosvenor Bart died at Naples: he was newly elect member of Parliament for y<sup>e</sup> City of Chester so y<sup>t</sup> another Russle is expected to West Chester at y<sup>e</sup> election of a Representative for y<sup>e</sup> City in his room. M<sup>r</sup> Manley was gone to London but its said he's gone down to stand candidate again but who will be y<sup>e</sup> other we do not yet hear tho' some talk of Sir Charles Bunbury. Sir Thomas is succeeded in honour and estate by y<sup>e</sup> only surviving brother now Sir Robert Grosvenor Baronet.

" Its writ from Chester February y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> past y<sup>t</sup> a Petition of y<sup>e</sup> several persons whose names are there unto subscribed being freemen of y<sup>e</sup> City of Chester resident within ye said City and Libertys there on behalf of them-

selves & many others Freemen and inhabitants of y<sup>e</sup> said City was presented to y<sup>e</sup> House of Commons and read; complaining y<sup>t</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> late election of a member of Parliament for Chester in y<sup>e</sup> room of Sir Richard Grosvenor deceased at which election Rich<sup>d</sup> Manley Esq<sup>r</sup> and Robert Grosvenor Esq<sup>r</sup> stood candidates a majority of y<sup>e</sup> Freemen resident within y<sup>e</sup> City and suburbs of Chester in whom only y<sup>e</sup> right of election is vested w<sup>d</sup> have Poled for and chosen M<sup>r</sup> Manley to have been their representative but several illegal and arbitrary measures being entered into, destructive to y<sup>e</sup> safety and common rights of y<sup>e</sup> citizens, some of them were influenced and others deterred from voting for y<sup>e</sup> said M<sup>r</sup> Manley: That a number of freemen and others were bribed and corrupted by being unnecessarily made constables and as such insulted and intimidated treated several persons for their intention to vote for y<sup>e</sup> said M<sup>r</sup> Manley, when at y<sup>e</sup> same time no disturbance was attempted or outrages committed but by themselves. By such arbitrary proceedings not only y<sup>e</sup> petitioners are injured but y<sup>e</sup> rights and freedom of electing members to serve in Parliament for y<sup>e</sup> City of Chester will become precarious and therefore they pray y<sup>e</sup> House to take these extraordinary proceedings into consideration and to relieve them in such manner as to y<sup>e</sup> House shall seem meet. And we hear y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> matter of y<sup>e</sup> said petition will be heard at y<sup>e</sup> Bar of y<sup>e</sup> House of Commons on Thursday y<sup>e</sup> fifth of April next."

"March y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> [1733] being Tuesday. That George Earl of Cholmondeley is appointed Lieutenant of & in y<sup>e</sup> Countys of Montgomery flint Merioneth Carnarvon and Anglesea and likewise to be Lieutenant of and in y<sup>e</sup> County of Chester, City of Chester and County of y<sup>e</sup> same and to be Custos Rotulorum of y<sup>e</sup> said City and County and Vice Admiral of Cheshire."

"Chester March y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> [1733] This day M<sup>r</sup> Manley arrived in this City and great numbers of gentlemen and freemen met him on y<sup>e</sup> road and conducted him into y<sup>e</sup> City, Thro' y<sup>e</sup> joyfull acclamation of y<sup>e</sup> people in y<sup>e</sup> following manner viz First were carried 3 ships fully rigged w<sup>th</sup> Ribbons streamers &c alluding to his services in endeavouring to procure a Bill for recovering y<sup>e</sup> navigation of y<sup>e</sup> River Dee. Then followed about 300 men on foot. Then all the gentlemens servants on Horseback. Next came M<sup>r</sup> Manley with y<sup>e</sup> Dean of Chester on his right hand and another clergyman on his left. Then Alderman Bennet & Alderman Manwaring and all y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen and citizens on horseback 4 in a brest between 6 and 700 and last came M<sup>r</sup> Williams and y<sup>e</sup> other gentlemen in their coaches. And it is observed y<sup>t</sup> there are but about 12 or 14 Coaches in y<sup>e</sup> Town and that nine of them attended y<sup>e</sup> cavalcade.

"June. The River Dee Bill has at last past y<sup>e</sup> House of Lords y<sup>e</sup> news of which caused great joy in y<sup>e</sup> City of Chester.

"June 23<sup>rd</sup> [1733] Y<sup>e</sup> King went to the House of Lords and gave his assent to the following bills, the Commons being also present (inter alia)

"3<sup>rd</sup> The Bill for making the River Dee navigable.

'7<sup>th</sup> A Bill for regulating Attorneys and Solicitors."

It is a very curious circumstance that these two Bills received the Royal assent together, especially by the light of what fell from Mr. Alfred O. Walker in this room in March last, when Mr. John B. Webster read his paper on "The Improvement of Tidal Estuaries." Mr. Walker is reported to have said, "It appeared to him the lawyers had been the great enemies of the River Dee. Had all the monies that had gone into the lawyers' pockets been spent in improving the navigation of the river we should have had a fine river before this." If Mr. Walker is to be

credited, therefore, it is clear that the last of these two Bills was wanting in regulating power. I, of course, differ with Mr. Walker in his premises, but further I differ from him and his co-promoters of the present Bill, who appear to have very visionary notions respecting the River Dee. All engineers of any eminence, who have experience of our river, will tell you that to make the River Dee navigable for modern vessels to Chester and to maintain it so will entail such an enormous outlay of capital as the small trade, which under the most favourable circumstances can be expected from Chester, will not justify.

But to resume the extracts from the diary:—

"July y<sup>e</sup> 23 [1733] being Monday. And tis writ from Chester that tis credibly reported y<sup>t</sup> several emisaries of y<sup>e</sup> Tory Party are employed Night & Day in raising a vast number of men from different Countys, who are to enter the City in a few days headed by a person of this County. The inhabitants are very much surprized at y<sup>e</sup> report and are at a loss to know w<sup>t</sup> can be y<sup>e</sup> design of bringing in such a multitude from different places. Some imagine it is to amuse the citizens w<sup>th</sup> a show of strength of y<sup>e</sup> party and to confirm their interest by a popular appearance from adjacent countys. Tis true indeed; their declining cause has great need of their skill and to support it. But surely this is too coarse an arrangement for gentlemen of their refined sense & understanding. Some are apprehensive of another foreign Mobb assaulting us but a fancy of y<sup>e</sup> defeat of y<sup>e</sup> poor Welch Mobb will be no real encouragement for any to attack us again. Others are alarmed with fears of a worse design than this & imagine it to be a scheme laid to try what they can do upon occasion in favour of a poor exile [the old Pretender], who is forced to beg his bread from Court to Court. What truth there is in this we cannot positively say. But it is certain y<sup>t</sup>

there are a great number of Jacobites, Republicans and such like venturers engaged in y<sup>e</sup> scheme who are extremely industrious in raising men to appear with y<sup>e</sup> disaffected person at a certain place and time appointed.

"August 1 [1733] being Wednesday. Y<sup>e</sup> men said in our last to be raised by y<sup>e</sup> Jacobites &c. out of 9 Countys with a design to visit Chester & to be headed by a Cheshire gentleman were hired to attend Sir Robert Grosvenor in his publick entry into Chester which was done on Saturday y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> of July past. Few of the city which he represents in Parliament own him but he is reduced to y<sup>e</sup> necessity of collecting foreigners to make their attendance. The place of general Rendezvous was upon Millers heath about 2 miles from Chester: Sir Robert entered y<sup>e</sup> City about 3 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon attended by a very few Cheshire gentlemen & several Welch. Their numbers which were about 3,000 were hired from y<sup>e</sup> countys of Staffordshire Shropshire Flintshire Montgomeryshire &c. Tis said that a great many of the countrymen were hired to attend."

The question of the navigation of the River Dee was at that time interwoven with both Municipal and Parliamentary contests in the City. Kinderley's Act was passed in 1723. The first sod of the navigation was cut 20th April, 1733, by Mr. R. Manley, and the water of the old channel was turned into that of the new in April, 1737.

In the Monthly Intelligence of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1732, there is the following item of news:—"Ended the Poll for Mayor of Chester when the numbers were for Alderman Johnson 1097, Alderman Ellames 1095, in the Grosvenor Interest: Alderman Maynwaring 858, Alderman Bennett 858 for Mr. Manley and navigation. The two first were return'd and the former swore into office. On this occasion the contest was so great that £20 was given for a vote, about £6000 spent and as reported

some lives lost." From the *Craftsman* of February 24th [1733], No. 347, a letter from Chester is quoted "wherein the writer sets in true light, against the misrepresentations of the *Daily Courant* and other Court Papers, some Transactions at the late Elections of a Mayor and Representative in that City." The letter says:—"The Riots and Outrages had their beginning from the private views of Mr. Manley, in his negotiating the business of making the River Dee navigable. That from that time numbers of vagrants and disorderly people were taken into regular pay, who insulted and abused the Magistrates and the Grosvenor Family; that Mr. Manley appear'd several times in the streets at the Head of the Mob arm'd with broad swords and other weapons; that at the Election of a Mayor great numbers of officers in different Branches of the Revenue, as well as common Soldiers, were detach'd from every Quarter of the Kingdom to vote in favour of Mr. Manley. . . . At the election for a Member the Mob discovered the same Inclination to Riots; but by the resolution of the Constables, who were then increased, the better to preserve the peace than it had been at the election of a Mayor, the Rioters were disarm'd to the great satisfaction of the Inhabitants; who having the Freedom of polling without Danger, Mr. Grosvenor (now Sir Robert) had a majority of Resiants<sup>1</sup> 166, and of votes in general 361. These facts can be justified by undeniable Vouchers and affidavits."

The *Daily Courant* referred to in this letter was that of October 25th preceding, just after the election of Mayor. It was there stated "the mobbing at Chester was begun in Mr. Manley's absence, and even before he declared himself a candidate; that an attempt to make 300 Honorary Free-men, to deprive the citizens of their rights, highly exas-

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<sup>1</sup> So in the MS. "Resiant" is an old word meaning "resident."

perated them, and was the cause of their violent proceedings, which Mr. Manley did not promote but restrain; some gentlemen in Mr. Grosvenor's Interest coming into Chester with their Swords drawn, at the head of 500 Welshmen, the Citizens stood on their defence, and that 20 or 30 guineas was given for a vote at the Election of a Mayor by the Grosvenor Party: the Truth of which Facts would be made appear on legal and full evidence." At the election of a representative, the *Daily Courant* says that "of the pretended Majority for Mr. Grosvenor (against whom Mr. Manley has petitioned), there are a considerable number of Paupers, and several entered on the Poll-Books as Inhabitants who were properly Foreigners, and were polled as such at the Mayor's last Election, besides Minors and Honorary Freemen: So tis apprehended on a scrutiny the number of Freemen Inhabitants (paying <sup>1</sup>Scot and Lot) for Mr. Manley will be near equal if not superior besides the Constables. That the Appointment of these Constables is a proceeding of a very extra ordinary nature in the Magistrates; who, instead of making an equal number, named by each Candidate, as has been usually practised on the like occasions, have turned out such of the 36 standing Constables of the City as were in Mr. Manley's interest; and not only made others in their room on the Grosvenor side, they being paid Half a Crown a day under Pretence of acting as Constables; and at the same time effectually discharged Mr. Manley's Friends, many of them threatened, obstructed, beaten, and terrified by those Constables, under the pretence of Authority, from voting for him."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* has the following on Tuesday, the 31st July [1733]:—"A great stir was made in Cheshire upon the arrival of the Earl of Cholmondeley, Governor of

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<sup>1</sup>i.e., Ratepayers.

Chester Castle, and Sir R. Grosvenor, one of the Representatives of that City; the former was met by 1000 Gentlemen and Citizens on Horseback and in Coaches, and conducted thro' the City with great acclamations to the Castle. The cry was 'Confusion to the Male Contents, and Prosperity to the navigation of the River Dee.' But Sir Robert was attended by nearly 4000 Gentlemen and Freemen on Horseback, about 40 Coaches, 19 with 6 Horses, who were two hours passing thro' the City; many of the Freemen had gilded Tobacco Leaves in their Hats. The cry was 'no excise,' and the Music played to the Tune of 'a begging we will go.' The Gentlemen and Freemen [present unanimously agreed to Vote at the next Election for Charles Cholmondeley and John Crewe, Jun<sup>r</sup> Esq<sup>rs</sup> against Sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, Bart., who was for the Tobacco Bill." These are the contemporary newspapers' accounts of the entries in the diary I have referred to.







## MALPAS TOWN,<sup>1</sup> PARISH, AND CHURCH.

BY THE HON. AND REV. W. T. KENYON, M.A.

(Read 19th November, 1888.)

MALPAS is a spur of the range of hills which rises abruptly from the Cheshire plain at Beeston, follows the ridge of Peckforton to Bickerton, and thence branches to Broxton, Carden, and the neighbourhood. We look over the valleys of the Dee towards the first upward slopes of the Welsh mountains, on the further side of the river.

The summit of our hill is four hundred and four feet above the sea level. The tower of the church commands a magnificent view. Northwards it is believed a practised eye may discern the fleets of Liverpool. Southwards the round Wrekin is plainly visible. In the west Llangollen valley opens out the vista of Wales.

The military position, the natural strategic advantages of the place would dispose the Romans, and afterwards the Normans, to fix upon it as a site for a fortress, for it would command at once the camp at Chester and the marches of the Welsh border. Accordingly, due north of

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<sup>1</sup> Town is the correct designation, rather than village, because King Edward I. granted a market. See *Magna Britannia*, 1810, London.

the church and quite close to it we find a mound called the Castle Hill. This was the site of the keep of the Norman castle. The castle at large covered a good deal of the neighbouring ground, and the church (then a private chapel to the castle) was within the castle precincts. Nothing of the Norman castle is now visible save this mound, or has been visible during the present century. The mound is one hundred and sixty feet in diameter. It is wholly artificial. The Roman station is probably buried beneath it. Close by we have an Arbour Field, as is not uncommon near Roman sites. According to Watkin, the main road from Uriconium to Deva (Chester) passed along the Dee valley, leaving Malpas a few miles to its right; so that Malpas could not be a principal station, but only a subsidiary camp, or possibly only a villa.

The parish of Malpas at large comprehends the whole south-west angle of Broxton Hundred: that is, in effect, the south-west corner of the county of Chester. The parish measures from north to south, seven miles and a half; from west, eastward, nearly ten miles. Twenty-five townships or parishes under the Poor Law and Education Acts are comprehended in this space, which reaches into the Hundred of Maelor Saesnag, in the county of Flint, in English Wales, across the Brook Elf, where there are salt pits worked quite recently; wiches as they are called. Before the Norman Conquest the "bad pass" in this direction was known by the name of Depenbach, which is the British equivalent for Malus Passus. The first Norman Earl bestowed the place on Robert Fitzhugh, his bastard son, whose possessions are recited in Domesday immediately after those of the Earl himself. This Robert Fitzhugh was one of the barons of the Earl's Parliament. His grant from the Earl consisted of the forfeited estates

of the Saxon Earl Eadwig, and formed the Barony of Malpas. Robert Fitzhugh died without male issue. He left, however, two daughters, Letitia and Mabilia, joint heiresses of the barony. Mabilia married William Belward, and became ancestress of the direct line of the family of Egerton, now represented in the person of Sir Philip Egerton, of Oulton Park. Out of Malpas, therefore, this great family, with all its ramifications, must trace its beginning eight hundred years ago. Within the bounds of the Barony the Barons of Malpas possessed capital jurisdiction. Their punishment was inflicted by the gallows. There was another method of capital punishment, however, much used in Malpas in these early days. In fact, it was known as the custom of Malpas. The Sutton and St. Pierre families used it. It was beheading. But this "Custom of Malpas" was part of a different jurisdiction from that of the Barons of Malpas, who were content with a good old English custom of rope. The habit of beheading on the other hand belonged, it would seem, to the jurisdiction of the Serjeants of the Peace of Cheshire in fee. The Court of the Barony has continued until now. I have paid my halfpenny to acknowledge its jurisdiction. But I do not think its powers at present will conflict with any jurisdiction of the new County Council. It is known as a Court Leet, and is held on behalf of the lord of the manor, Mr. Drake.

After the Barons of the castle the most important people in old Malpas were the Breretons of the so-called Old Hall. This was at the base of the slope towards Uriconium. The Breretons lived in princely style for many centuries here. They had the honour of maintaining a fool—an official fool, I mean. So witnesses our burial register:—"1572. Thomas Boswell, being ye foole of ye Hall, buried." A black and white building on the site was destroyed quite recently, about the same time when the

remains of the cross were taken from the middle of the town, which is built, like Chester, on the four cross road plan. The remains of this cross I remember seeing *in situ* when a child. I think they were taken to Cholmondeley in the time of Chancellor Thurlow, who was a personal friend of the then marquis. But I have never been able to trace them. We have now a new cross in the Queen Eleanor style, built in memory of the Chancellor.

Perhaps the most noteworthy point in the history of Malpas is the virulence with which the plague attacked it in the seventeenth century. The registers tell how, for example, one Dominick died of it, in the year 1604, at Mrs. Brereton's, of Edge. In 1625 again "one Ralph Dawson came from London about the 25th of July, and, being sick of the plague, died in his father's house, and infected the said house, and was buried near unto his father's house." I will ask you to let me give yet one other extract from the register about the plague. This is as follows: "Richard Dawson, of Bradeley, being sick of the plague, and perceiving that he must die, at that time arose out of his bed and made his grave, and caused his nefew to cast straw into the grave, which [again] was not far from the house, and went and laid him down in the said grave, and caused cloths to be laid uppon, and so departed out of this world. This he did because he was a strong man, and heavier than his said nefew and another wench were able to bury. He died about the 24th of August. This much he did." Several entries follow showing the terrible sort of abandonment which, from the days of the plague at Athens, has always accompanied an outbreak of the malady.

My peculiar interest, however, in the records of Malpas lies naturally in the history of the rectorate. There is the modern version of the old, well-known story of King

James I. at the Red Lion Inn: "King James I., on one of his journeys through the kingdom, arrived at Malpas unattended, and took up his quarters at the Red Lion Inn. Not wishing to be known, he simply announced himself as a gentleman passing through the town. In the absence of his courtiers time seems to have hung heavy on his hands, for the story goes that he called for the landlord and inquired whether there were any persons of note in the town who would come to the inn and spend an hour or two with him. The landlord replied that there were no such persons except the rector and curate, and suggested that these should be sent for to meet the strange traveller. To this the king assented, and the two clergymen quickly responded to the invitation. After supper, the king, being a canny Scot, suggested that as the rector was possessed of a rich benefice, he was the fittest person to discharge the bill, or that at any rate he ought to pay for the curate's share of the entertainment. To this suggestion the rector demurred most emphatically. 'No, no,' said he, 'Higgledy piggedly Malpas shot, every man pays his own share here.' The curate, of course, had to agree with this view of the case, and the king, unless he declared himself, had no other course but to do likewise. Some little time afterwards, the rector received an official communication from the king, reminding him of the occasion when he had supped with an unknown traveller at the Red Lion, and informing him that as the Malpas custom appeared to be such as was described in the phrase, 'Higgledy piggedly, Malpas shot,' that custom should be applied to the rectory, and that the curate should not only have the privilege of paying his own share, but that he should also share equally in the rights and income of the benefice."

From this time, says the story, there have been two rectors of Malpas, with equal share in the emoluments of

the benefice. This equal share, at all events, prevailed until a few years ago, when the Ecclesiastical Commission made new arrangements. The records, however, show clearly that the double rectorate was a fact in the year 1285. There was a rector then of the higher mediety named William of Audlem. There was a rector then of the lower mediety named Leodegardus of Nottingham. These two facts are proved absolutely by a document now at Cholmondeley Castle, which I have inspected carefully. This document is a licence given by the two rectors to Hugo de Cholmundeg' to provide a chaplain for his domestic oratory within the parish of Malpas, carefully safeguarding the rights of the mother Church. This document was at one time in the custody of the Dean of Chester. About the year 1840 the then Dean transferred it into the hands of the then Marquis of Cholmondeley. The chaplaincy was at that time revived in virtue of the authority of this deed. Legal opinion has been taken that it is valid now. And on the strength of this opinion a chaplain is now maintained, although Cholmondeley Castle has itself been removed a half mile or so from its original site. From this date, moreover, the list of the rectors of Malpas is complete, of both higher and lower medieties, until we come to the fifteenth century, when we find John Brereton in possession of both medieties at the same time. He was one of the Shocklach Breretons. Later on in the list we find the name of Lionel Sharpe, D.D., who was chaplain to the Earl of Essex. He wrote a book, entitled *A Lookinge Glass for the Pope, wherein he may see his own face, the express image of Anti-Christ, together with the Pope's New Creed*. In the year 1614, he was committed to the Tower.

Coming down to the Rebellion, we find that one Thomas Bridges, rector of the higher mediety, was ejected

by the rebels. He was restored in 1660. During the term of his ejection the registers record a kind of civil wedding. The celebrating officer was by name George Mainwaring, who would be a local magistrate. The long line of the rectors of the higher mediety concludes with one or two names of recent interest. Reginald Heber, for example, the father of Bishop Heber, is locally known as the builder of the present rectory. His architect was his wife, who turned the key on the completion of the work for £,1500. The bishop himself was born in this house, and baptised in Malpas Church, as the register testifies. Hence he went one Saturday to Wrexham to preach a missionary sermon the following day for the vicar, who, knowing his poetical powers, asked him to write a hymn for the service. Then and there he wrote his great hymn. The MS. was recently held by the representatives of the Wrexham printer. They parted with it a few years ago. When last I heard of it it was in Liverpool. The successor of Bishop Heber's father in the rectorate of the higher mediety was the Sir Philip Egerton who preceded the father of the present baronet. He was followed by the late Chancellor Thurlow, of pious memory. Sir Philip held his benefice for a quarter of a century. The Chancellor, after him, for thirty years, until 1873.

The greatest name which I can give out of the list of the rectors of the lower mediety, is that of Thomas Townson, D.D., the well-known author of the *Discourses on the Gospels*, and other valuable theological works. Bishop Jacobson was fond of saying that he was the greatest of all the rectors of Malpas Church.

Before concluding with a few words on the building of the church, I should mention that there was in the reign of Edward I. a small monastery at Malpas which was a cell to the alien priory of Montacute in Somersetshire. This

cell was occupied by two monks only. The present edifice of Malpas Church is of the fifteenth century, save only the comparatively modern vestry. (This appears from the mouldings to have been the work of Sir John Vanbrugh, who designed Blenheim and Oulton.) But there is much earlier work in the church. For example, there are on the south side of the sanctuary three sedilia of unequal height, and on the south wall of the nave close by the east end a large piscina of the fourteenth century. The consecration crosses are four on the south-westernmost capital, and one on the lintel of the south porch, eastward. The general features of the building are sufficiently described by Ormerod. He calls it a handsome specimen of the enriched Gothic of Henry VII.'s reign, consisting of a low tower, nave, chancel, and side aisles, which terminate in two chancels erected by the Cholmondeley and Brereton families. The side aisles are divided from the nave by six lofty arches, resting on clustered columns. In the wall of the north aisle are three pointed arches, under one of which is a flat stone ornamented with tracery. These were, no doubt, places of tombs; in fact, I discovered the remains of a stone coffin under one of the arches during the recent restoration. Over the porch is a priest's chamber known as the old vestry, which was reached by stone steps along the western wall. The crypt under the altar contains a wooden coffer of hewn work rapidly decaying. The angles which the chancel makes with the nave are very curious, the walls of the chancel not being even parallel to each other. The roof is of carved wood, the intersection of the beams ornamented with foliage. This roof which Ormerod thus describes is flat; but in the nave, aisles, and chancel are traces of a pointed roof, which reappeared recently when the plaster was removed. Also the abutment of a line of arches (like the present low chancel arch) proceeding west-



ward from the chancel. All this wants examination on the spot. The dedication is in the name of Saint Oswald the king. And accordingly the festival of the dedication is held by custom on a day corresponding to the death day of Oswald, allowance being made for the correction of the kalendar, which, for this purpose, the Malpasians have never adopted, using still the present Russian reckoning. I have recorded in an appendix a list of Church books and inscriptions discovered under the plaster at the recent restoration. The most interesting of these to my mind is that on the east wall southward in black letter, from an early edition of St. John's gospel: "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead; but whoso eatyth of this Bread shall live for ever." Under the foundations of the Brereton Chauntry I found several ancient tombstones with incised and floriated crosses; one has been re-used, and has had the figures 1609 cut upon it. All these crosses date back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if not earlier. The date of the plastering appears from a brass found under it to have been subsequent to 1750.

"The Song of the Soulers," annually sung at Malpas, is as follows:—

Soul, soul, a soul cake,  
 Pray good dame a soul cake;  
 An apple, a pear, a plum, or a cherry,  
 Any good thing to make us merry,  
 One for Peter, two for Paul,  
 And three for Them as made us all.  
 Please, good missus, go down in your cellar,  
 And fetch us a jug of your very best beer.  
 For it is but a fame  
 To get a good name,  
 Soul, soul, a soul cake, &c.

Recent additions (?)—

Up with your kettles, down with your pan,  
 Give us an apple, and we'll be gone.  
 The roads are very dirty, my shoes are very thin,  
 We've got a little pocket to put a penny in.

## APPENDIX A.

List of silver-plate—chalices, patens, &c., belonging to the Church of St. Oswald, at Malpas, with dates, &c.:—

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|------------------|---|
| 1. } Two Patens. | N.B.—These are commonly used at the weekly celebration up to this present date. |
| 2. }             |   |
| 3. One chalice.  |   |
| 4. One spoon.    |   |
| 5. One flagon.   |   |
6. One paten, plain; hall-marked silver; inscribed on back, "Ex dono Gulielmi Dod de Hampton Armigeri ultimi Hæredis ejusdem familiæ, 1742."
  7. One paten, plain; hall-marked silver; inscribed on back, "Ex dono Gulielmi Dod de Hampton Armigeri ultimi Hæredis ejusdem familiæ, 1742."
  8. One chalice marked I. H. S., "All things come of Thee, O Lord, and Thine own have we given Thee;" hall-marked silver.
  9. One flagon, marked I. H. S., with a cross; hall-marked silver, with the king's head.
  10. One paten, hall-marked silver; earlier than the date when the king's head was used for marking silver, that is, the Georgian epoch; shaped like a saucer.
  11. One chalice, hall-marked silver, inscribed "Ecclesiæ de Malpas in comit. Cestr. Gulielmus Holland, Rector ibidem donavit 1674."
  12. One small chalice, hall-marked silver, before king's head; companion to 11, but without any inscription.

## APPENDIX B.

List of MSS., Registers, &c., belonging to Malpas Church, now in the Registry within the Sacristy:—

1. Register of all baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1561 to 1609.

2. Register of all baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1614 to 1640.
3. Register of all baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1640 to 1677.
4. Register of all baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1677 to 1704.
5. Register of all baptisms and burials from 1704 to 1733, and marriages from 1704 to 1754.
6. Baptisms and burials, 1733 to 1768.
7. Marriages, 1754 to 1766.
8. Marriages, 1776 to 1784.
9. Baptisms and burials, 1769 to 1795.  
Registers bound in parchment.
10. Marriages, 1766 to 1775.
11. Marriages, 1785 to 1800.
12. Baptisms and burials, 1796 to 1812.
13. Marriages, 1813 to 1837.
14. Burials, 1813 to 1838.
15. Baptisms, 1813 to 1828.
16. Marriages, 1800 to 1812.
17. Baptisms, 1828 to 1847.
18. Burials, 1838 to 1865.
19. Baptisms, 1847 to 1861.
20. Burials from 1865. Current register of burials.
21. Baptisms, June 9th, 1861, to May 14th, 1879.
22. Marriages, 1851 to 1863 (duplicate in London).
23. Marriages, 1863 to 1885.
24. Marriages, 1837 to 1851.
25. Marriages, 1885 to 1888.
26. Duplicate of 25.
27. MS. book, marked No. 32; date, Ap. 23, 1753 to 1802; vestry minute book, with accounts of mize, etc.
28. Churchwardens' accounts book, 1732 to 1794, bound in green.

29. Current baptismal register.
30. Current register of marriages.

## APPENDIX C.

List of papers in oak chest with three locks and three keys, now in my custody at Malpas Rectory, 1888 :—

1. Sentence of consecration of S. Chad's Church, near Malpas, within the ancient parish of Malpas, 1822.
2. Do. do. Whitewell.
3. An indenture, signed and sealed by Thos. Lowe, Wm. Thelwill, George Dod of Carden, otherwise Cawarden, 1783.
4. Lease of lands in Chorlton, 1765.
5. A book of churchwardens' accounts, eighteenth century.
6. Sundry loose papers of less interest, of various dates.
7. Accounts of churchwardens, 1653 to 1694, packed in one packet by me and labelled.
8. Malpas parish papers, packed in 1884 and labelled.

## APPENDIX D.

Monuments recently discovered :—

1. Early tombstone, ornamented with an incised cross, and having the initials M. E. and the date 1609 subsequently cut upon it (now in porch).
2. Tombstones with floriated crosses, found under the foundation of Brereton Chancel, now within it.
3. Brass in porch, with following inscription: "Here lies the body of William Churton, of Malpas, who departed this life, November 3rd, 1742, aged 81. Also the body of Dorothy, his wife, who died Sept. 22nd, 1745, aged 87. Likewise of Randle Churton, their son, who died Dec. 17th, 1765, aged 70."

4. The consecration crosses, and } both described in my  
5. The text on the east wall, } paper (see p. 170).

There are several monuments mentioned in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* which are not now visible. There are also several monuments recently erected.





## RECENT DISCOVERIES AT VALE CRUCIS ABBEY.

BY MR. G. C. RICHARDSON, F.R.I.B.A.

*(Read 19th November, 1888.)*

**D**URING last summer, Mr. Owen, the custodian of the abbey, discovered built carefully into the floor of the dormitory five tombstones, of which rubbings are now exhibited. The floor of the dormitory is over the vaulted roof of the chapter-house, and the stones appear to have been used for the purpose of filling up the hollows over the vaulting, and bringing the floor to a level.

The first stone, No. 1, is decorated in relief with a cross of somewhat ornate design, and from the character of the ornament I should presume is dated early in the thirteenth century. It has no inscription, and one of its edges appears to have been chipped in order to make it fit into the place it now occupies. A diagonal line about an inch wide and an inch deep has been roughly chiselled across it, suggesting an intention of cutting it into two parts. There is slight discolouration on it, such as might have been occasioned by fire.

On the second stone the ornament consists simply of an incised sword and an inscription, the letters of which have been sharply cut, but are much worn and illegible. The first letters on the upper edge appear to be E.C., but they

are by no means clear. The next O; then what may be a dot, then come two letters that I cannot make out, then clear INUS · MADOC an I, perhaps U, and the rest of the line is illegible. On the lower edge the first letters are indistinct until we come to the words INSIGNIS · CELI · OMINA, then follows a word of five letters, the last three being AIS or UIS; the rest is unintelligible.

A good deal of interest has been taken in this stone, because it is supposed to have covered the mortal remains of Madog ap Gryffydd Maelor, the founder of the Abbey; it certainly clearly shows the founder's name, "Madog." He died, and was buried in the abbey in the year 1236, and the character of the lettering would probably agree with that date. Madog is described as being "A hawk in battle," "A proud and mighty chief," and the sword upon the stone may be in particular reference to his life. The inscription on both edges reads the same way, and this would lead us to suppose that it was intended to occupy a niche in the walls. It is narrow enough to have fitted into the arcaded opening assigned to the founder's tomb in the north wall of the choir.

He was not the only Madog who was buried in the abbey. It is recorded that his son, who was also named Madog, was buried there in 1270.

Another reading of the inscription is as follows:—

(HIC JAC)ET OWYINUS MADOCU(S) xP R. INSIGNIS CELI  
(D)OMINE x x UIS.

The stone No. 3 has been subjected to rather rough treatment, more than one-fourth of it having been broken away. It is ornamented with a cross fleury of simple but chaste design, and it is cut deeper in relief than No. 1. It would date, I should think, about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The side that is broken appears to have been decorated, but there is no inscription left upon it, nor anything that throws any light upon the question as to whom it commemorated.

The fourth and fifth stones are but fragments, but the fourth is interesting on account of the simple fret-like band ornament, which is of very early date and unusual.

With regard to the question as to how these stones came to be in the position that they are.

From the way in which they lie, and the manner in which they have been cut and hacked about in order to make them fit somehow or other into their places, they give one the impression of their having been built in at the time the dormitory floor was made. And one is more inclined to this impression from the many examples we have of the little respect the Cistercians of the fifteenth century showed towards the tombs of their benefactors.







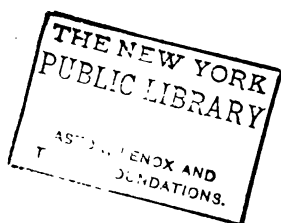
## ON A SCULPTURED STONE WITH A RUNIC INSCRIPTION IN CHESHIRE.

BY THE REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D., F.S.A.,  
F.S.A. (Scot.).

*(Read 31st October, 1889.)*

WHEN the Archæological Institute met at Chester, a few years ago, I was allowed to describe the sculptured stones of Cheshire at one of the evening meetings. On that occasion I remarked upon the entire absence of runes on Cheshire stones, and upon a specially interesting set of sculptured stones at West Kirby, in the curious district of Cheshire called Wirral, between the Dee and the Mersey. As a considerable Runic inscription has now been found in Wirral, I am glad to be allowed to make a communication on the subject to the Chester Archæological Society, and only regret that university duties render it impossible for me to make it in person.

With regard to the beautiful cast of the inscription which is now before the meeting, I may say that I obtained some weeks ago permission from the owner of the stone, Mr. Webster, to have two casts made, which I might present to the Grosvenor Museum and the Museum of Archæology in Cambridge. When the casts were com-





RUNIC STONE FOUND AT OVERCHURCH IN CHESHIRE IN 1889.

pleted and despatched I found that Mr. Webster was himself presenting them. For this graceful act I desire to tender my thanks. I have ventured to send to the Curator a rubbing taken from the cast, on which I have outlined the runes, and have written their equivalents in English characters in case any visitor to the Museum should not be familiar with the interesting alphabet of which this inscription is so fine an example.

On June 9th, 1889, I received from the Rev. W. Dallow, of Upton, near Birkenhead, a letter describing a sculptured stone with a Runic inscription, and enclosing some account of it, together with an illustration, communicated by Mr. Dallow to the periodical called *Research*. This account had been sent to Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, who had corrected some of the readings and referred his correspondent to me.

The runes as printed by Mr. Dallow in *Research* were:—

FOLKWARARDONREC . . . . .  
 . . WIDDOTHFOTEATHEIEU . . .

Professor Stephens altered this, by the light of the photographs sent to him, to

FOLKWARARDONBEC . . . . .  
 . . WIDDEATHFOTEATHEAMUN . . .

and suggested the insertion of UN after BEC, about which there can be no doubt, and of IN before WID. He interpreted it as follows: *Folcwar*, the person to whom the memorial was raised; *ardon*, for *arodon*, honoured; *becun*, a monument. The lost runes in this line giving the names of the persons who thus honoured Folcwar with a monument. *Inwid*, guile; *deathfote*, death-struck; *athe*, oath; *amun*, for *amunan*, to call to mind; from which he gathered that Folcwar died a violent death.

My own feeling was that the runecutters studied simplicity and brevity, and that the out-of-the-way character of a good deal of this interpretation was on the face of it a serious objection. But no one can feel otherwise than most grateful to Professor Stephens, who, with nothing better than a photograph to guide him, will spend any quantity of time on an inscription sent out to him, and in his desire to give help will risk ingenious suggestions when he has really not had the one fair chance, which is afforded by seeing the stone itself and placing it in various lights. I am myself under the deepest obligations to Professor Stephens for a personal kindness and a wealth of suggestion which seem to have no limits.

One of the Runic inscriptions at Thornhill, near Dewsbury, runs:

“Igilsuith araerde aefter Berhtsuiþe  
Becun at bergi gebiddath thaer saule”

(Igilsuith raised in memory of Berhtsuiþ, a memorial at the mound. Pray for the soul).

It occurred to me almost at once that the Wirral inscription had many of the elements of this, and that small changes would assimilate the two closely. Mr. Dallow, however, of whose kindness and interest from first to last I cannot speak too strongly, reported—correctly, as it proved—that my suggested emendations were not borne out by the facts. Still, I felt that at least it came very near to

“Folc araerdon becun  
biddath fore atheamun,”

the *araerdon* being Dr. Skeat's suggestion.

I went to see the stone on July 14th, in company with the Dean of Chester. Mr. Webster, of Leasowe Bank, about a mile from the Moreton station, in whose coach-house it lay, received us with great hospitality.

The fragment is a flat stone, twenty and three-quarter inches long, five inches wide at one end and wider at the other, and nine inches thick. The surface has been ornamented with raised sculpture, almost all of which has been broken off; enough is left to show that the pattern consisted of interlacing work ending in a serpent's head, running parallel with the longer edge of the stone. The pattern shows that the stone has been considerably longer than it now is, and the analogy of other flat Anglian stones of a sepulchral character, *e.g.*, at Thornhill, suggests that it was at least twice as broad as the present broadest part, having two serpent patterns separated by a raised band down the middle of the stone.

The stone was part of the building materials of an unsightly little church built at Upton, near Birkenhead, in 1813, out of the materials of the old church of Overchurch, which fell into ruin about that time. This little church was pulled down in 1887, and the materials were purchased by Mr. Webster. Seeing some remains of sculpture on one of the stones, he had it cleaned, and in the process the lime which had filled the runes on the edge of the stone came out, and thus the presence of the inscription was discovered.

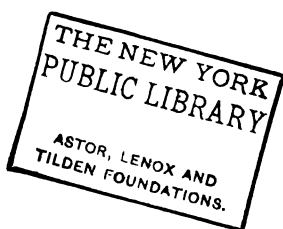
On the edge at the narrow end of the stone there is rudely incised a Romanesque arch. This is very fortunate, for it determines the original position of the stone. It was a recumbent, not a standing stone, with interlaced serpents on the surface, a rude arcade cut on the vertical edge at the head, and an inscription in runes cut on the vertical edge at the side. This would be the south side if the body which it covered was laid facing the east. Presumably large stones were laid on the surface of the ground, over the grave, on which this body stone was in turn laid, so that it should not sink into the earth. Even so, the vertical edge

of a flat stone was not a very permanent place for an inscription, and I do not remember any other Runic inscription in Great Britain in that position. The Danish inscription in runes on the well-known stone in the Guildhall Library, in London, is in the same position relatively to the stone, but the stone was meant in that case to be in an upright position, with the inscription running down the edge.

The Upton inscription is in two lines, one above the other, an incised line dividing the two. Both lines are broken off at the right hand, and the two runes at the left hand of the lower line are defaced. The rest is very legible. The runecutter began with large letters, well spaced, but when he came to the second line he had to squeeze his letters, getting 19 into the space occupied by 15 in the upper line.

The inscription had been in almost all its letters correctly read. In three cases I came to the conclusion that the marks had been somewhat misinterpreted, and I read the second *a* in *arardon* as *ae*, making *araerdon*, the proper Anglo-Saxon form for "they reared" or "erected," while, on the other hand, I read the *ae* in *widdaeth* as *a*, making *widdath*, and this I could not doubt was meant for *biddath*, the proper Anglo-Saxon form for "pray ye," whether with the prefix *ge* (or *gi*, for both occur) or not. In the same way I read the *a* in *athe* as *ae*. One further change I made, of which the effect did not strike me for two or three days:—I read the *a* in *amun* as *l*, and this, with the correction in the previous syllables, gives *Aethelmun*. It can scarcely be doubted that we have here the name of the person for whom prayer was to be made, "Aethelmund."

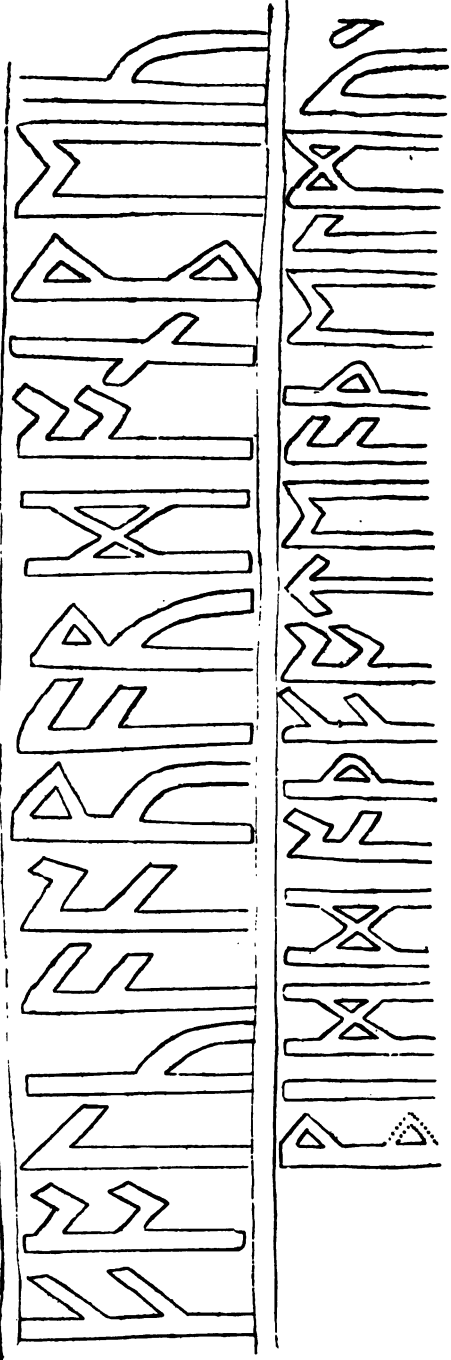
The *fote* is probably a miscut *fore*. There is on one of the Thornhill stones *aefte* for *aefter*, and when *fote* is written in runes the mistake between it and *aefte* is less





*These are given for (see p. 10). The people erected a memorial*

F O L K Æ A R Æ R D O N B E K



B I D D A T H F O T E Æ T H E L M U N

*Biddath fore. Aethelmund (d.) Pray for. Aethelmund*

*G. F. Browne.  
Cambridge: Sep 27, 1889.*

THE RUNES ON THE RUNIC STONE FOUND AT OVERCHURCH IN 1889.

startling than that between it and *fore*. Dr. Skeat assures me, however, that *biddan aefter*, "to pray for," is unknown as a construction and must be rejected, while *biddan fore* is natural. The only other emendation, *biddath* for *widdath*, means a much smaller change in the appearance of the rune; the mistake is one not at all unlikely to happen. It is a satisfaction to find, since this was written, that the cast shows clearly what the Dean may remember my trying to persuade myself was to be seen on the stone itself, namely, a part of the lower half of the B. The cast, I think, leaves no doubt that the letter was B and not W, B not P.

The two lost runes at the beginning of the second line might be the *un* of *becun*, or the *gi* of *gibiddath*, or almost anything.

There only remains one difficulty, the letter after *jolk*, apparently redundant. I read it as *ae*, not *w*, but a piece of the stone has flaked off, and I think it possible that it is a spoiled rune which the runecutter has left standing. What else he was to do, if the stone did chip off as he worked, I do not quite know. On the other hand, it might have been cut redundantly, without being noticed by the runecutter at first as a mistake, and then left. However this may be, the whole thing fits so exactly into the shape we are familiar with, that I offer, without serious hesitation, the reading:—

"Folc (ae) araerdon becun

biddath fore Æthelmund (or munde)"

(The people raised a memorial. Pray for Æthelmund).

The name Aethelmund does not appear to have been common. I do not find it in Bede's *History*. It occurs in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, in the form Ethilmund, standing fourteenth in the list of deacons, in the original hand, in letters of gold, perhaps of the ninth century.

Twenty-six other deacons follow in the original hand, so that Ethilmund is fairly high up in a very early list. It occurs also once among the presbyters, in a later hand, and once among the Abbats of the third class, who were neither presbyters nor deacons, here again in the later hand.

I have left the remarks about the letter following the word *folk* standing as they were written some weeks ago. My original view was that *folcæ* was a plural of *folc*, but Dr. Skeat informed me no such plural was known. I accept that as conclusive. Professor Stephens, however, urges that there were in Old Northern English many vowel terminations for neuters plural, *æ* among them, and I am disposed to believe that we are meant to read the word *folcæ*, and that we have here a form not hitherto noticed of the plural of *folc*. But I am quite incompetent to form an opinion on this point.





## NOTES ON THE OVERCHURCH RUNIC STONE.

BY THE REV. FATHER WILFRID DALLOW,  
M.R.S.A. (IRELAND).

*(Read 31st October, 1889.)*

THE great difficulty which the writer of this paper labours under is the fact that it follows and is supposed, in some humble manner, to supplement the valuable paper of Professor Browne, B.D., of Cambridge University.

First, a word as to how and where this Runic sepulchral stone was discovered. As these words may meet the eyes of others to whom our locality may not be clearly known, it may here be stated that that part of Cheshire, styled the Wirral, is an oblong district between the Dee and the Mersey, starting from Flookersbrook just outside the city of Chester, and washed on the north-west by the Irish Sea. The old church of Overchurch stood two miles from the Leasowe embankment, midway between the villages of Upton and Moreton. The old graveyard still exists in the private grounds of George Webster, Esq., a few yards from the high road. Here, a church is supposed to have been in existence at the time of the Norman Conquest,

when the Dooms-day Book was drawn up. How often it was rebuilt we do not know, but in Mortimer's *Hundred of Wirral* it is described as "having had pointed arches of peculiar elegance, richly decorated with chevrons and Saxon mouldings," and "as being for many years in a state of progressive decay." In 1709, the steeple became injured and the parishioners were allowed to sell two out of the three bells to defray expenses of repairs, as only fourteen families in the parish were able to give any contributions.

In 1813, the church fell down, or was blown down, and Bishop Law gave due permission to remove the débris, and re-erect it in a more suitable spot at the west end of the village of Upton, on the left-hand side of the road to Greasby. As to the former church, our oldest villager informs me that it had benches for about one hundred and fifty, a clay floor, an oak pulpit, a stained glass window, and a bell, and was served monthly by a clergyman from Wallasey.

It is to be noted that an old silver communion cup, given to this church in 1618, by Sir Charles Bold, Kt., of Upton Hall, is still preserved at Upton. It bears the inscription: "Carolus Bold filius Petri Bold de Upton Armigeri dedit hunc calicem Ecclesie ibidem Eodemq. tempore dedit illis Bibliam, 1618."

I have tried in vain to discover to what saint Overchurch was originally dedicated, as there seems no tradition of any annual "wake," or fair, which is often a good clue to the feast of the patron-saint of a parish church.

In June of 1887, this rather unsightly little white-washed church was taken down, and all stones showing any ornamental carving were purchased by a gentleman in the neighbourhood. This church had not been used for service since the late Mr. Inman built a fine new one some twenty-five years ago. Being informed, therefore, by the man

who had orders to take it down, that one of the stones contained a strange inscription, I went to see, expecting to find some Latin epitaph of by-gone days. To my surprise the curious characters were Saxon runes. This heavy fragment of sandstone measures about twenty-one inches by ten, and is nine inches thick. On the upper side is an elegant interlaced ribbon-pattern, similar to those on the stones now preserved from the weather in the "hearse house" at West Kirby, and a few lines are cut on the small end, at that corner where the Runic inscription begins. This latter is carefully cut in two rows, divided by a line, and is clearly incomplete, as the stone is abruptly broken off at the right-hand side, and, judging from the pattern carved on the upper, would have extended to at least four or five more letters. This valuable stone seems to have been hidden in the church walls for centuries, with the runes turned inwards. Therefore, the characters had to be carefully cleansed from mortar, and though the first two at the beginning of the second line are gone, the only wonder is that the others are as clearly and sharply cut as they are. It is certain that there was not a third line, as is proved from the state of the stone, which shows no mark of a chisel.

Rûn is the Teutonic for mystery. As masonic Pagan signs, used by the early Scandinavians, they were tolerated by the Church when she evangelised those nations; but after Christianity had become firmly rooted, their use was probably discouraged, and they are said to have been forbidden under ecclesiastical censure at the Council of Toledo. It should, however, be stated that Professor Stephens, the great Runic authority at Copenhagen, denies this theory about runes. Making careful sketches of the inscription and other parts of the stone, I sent them to Professor Stephens, in Denmark, who evinced the liveliest

interest in the discovery, and declared the stone to be of inestimable value. Still the runes were so far unintelligible. Last summer, however, photography came to our aid, when the matter grew clearer, and the learned doctor, after examining my two photographs under a strong lens, drew this conclusion:—

FOLCWAR	ARDON	BE	<u>CVN</u>	. . .
Folcwar	honoured	tomb	. . .	
IN	WID	DEATH	FOTE	ATHE
guile	death-footed	oath	call	to mind .

Still, the whole inscription being so fragmentary, this interpretation was not deemed entirely satisfactory.

It remained for Professor Browne, of Cambridge, who, along with the Dean of Chester, paid a special visit to the stone in last July (1889), to give us the final elucidation, which I believe is now universally accepted by scholars as the true one:—

FOLCÆ	ARE	ARDON	BE	<u>CVN</u>	. .
People (body-guard)	reared	a	tomb	. .	
GI	<u>BIDDATH</u>	FOT	ATHE	MUND.	
Bid ye	for	Athelmund.			

The letters underlined, B and T, are unfortunately mistakes by the "cutter," who is supposed to have been somewhat illiterate. This name Athelmund is almost unique, we find only one mention of it in the Saxon *Chronicle* in the year 800. "In this year, the Aldorman Æthelmund rode over from the Hwiccas (Worcestershire), at Cynemderesford (Kempsford), when the Aldorman Weohatan met him with Wiltshire men, and there was a great fight, and both the Aldormen were slain."

If the name were Athelm, we have another entry in the Saxon *Chronicle* which may possibly allude to him.

In 892 Alfred's great army included the Aldormen Æthelred, Æthelm, and Æthelnoth, which were engaged in fighting the East Anglians, who were driven back until "they arrived at a desolated city in Wirrall, which is called Legaceaster (Chester). Then could the force not overtake them before they were in the work, &c." The "work" means here the city walls.

As to the age of this Runic stone, I can hardly agree that it is seventh century. It is a not uncommon fault with us to put things too early. Miss Stokes, who is a very great living authority on Irish archæology, in her recent work, *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (p. 125), questions many of the dates given by Professor Stephens, who ascribes many old Northern crosses, Bewcastle, Ruthwell, &c., to the year six hundred. She proves this fact by comparing the elaborate pattern on the latter cross to the rude outlines on the coffin of St. Cuthbert, which is by all admitted to be seventh century.

It seems certain that the early Irish missionaries mainly taught us our art, and were in the first ages of Christianity far advanced in decoration, as shown by that elegant profusion of interlaced patterns found on their stone monuments, metal works, and rich illuminations. (The book of Kells, and others.)

But to return to our Overchurch stone. Here we have an ancient "Bidding-stone," or "Bid-stone," asking a prayer of the passer-by for the soul of some Saxon warrior, or priest, who lay interred beneath. After a lapse of so many centuries, it is well-nigh impossible to discover whence the stones were procured wherewith the old church of Overchurch was built, and, therefore, we shall never find out whence this Runic slab was taken, and—unrecognised—built into the walls. That it was in its day (seventh century) an important though rude monument, marking



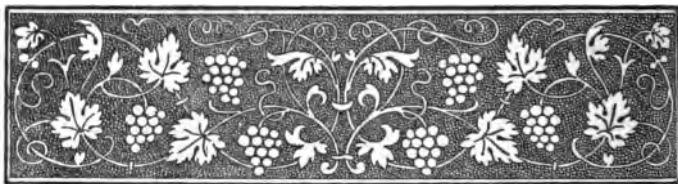
the last resting-place of some great Saxon, there can be but little doubt; and it would, indeed, be curious if it gave its name to the chief hill in the neighbourhood, Bidston Hill, from whose quarries the materials came, likely enough, for building Overchurch. In old documents, we find Bidston Hill spelt variously Bideston, Bydeston, and Bydestone. The Saxon verb *biddan*, "to bid, ask, pray," enters into many old English words, *e.g.*, *bedel*, a beadle, one who calls to prayer, a crier; *bedesman*, one who prays for another. Inside the small but elegant chantry of Prince Arthur, in Worcester Cathedral, these "bedesmen" are seen sculptured with their strings of *beads* in their hands.

Were this valuable old stone only complete, there would be at least four or five more runes in each line (as already stated), and these would probably tell us the title or condition of the deceased. By referring to the history of the period, there is reason to believe that Athelmund was a Saxon soldier or officer. About the year 625, Cadwalla, king of Gwynedd (as North Wales was then styled), bearing great hatred towards Edwin, King of Northumbria, led an army against him, and the rivals met near Morpeth. In the fierce battle which followed, Cadwalla was thoroughly beaten, but managed to rally around him sufficient men to beat a safe retreat across the Mersey and the Dee, and so into his Welsh kingdom. Edwin pursued him over hill and dale, and finally besieged his enemy in Puffin Island, off Anglesey. Now, in the skirmishes which occurred in this retreat of Cadwalla across our Cheshire Wirral, soldiers were likely to fall belonging to either army. If, therefore, Athelmund, in the Saxon ranks of King Edwin, so fell, and departed in that "noble peace" signified by his name, what more natural than that his fellow-comrades, or "body guard" (as "*folcæ*" strictly means), should have this Runic epitaph cut, before retiring across the Mersey into the

Strathclyde. Northumbria was then but recently evangelised by St. Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York; and thus, to those who can find "sermons in stones," this old and rudely adorned monument proclaims the faith of him who lay beneath, in the touching appeal—"Pray ye for Athelmund!"

In conclusion, if it seems to the general reader that undue importance has been given to this Runic "find," it must be remembered that such stones are rare in Europe, and very rare in England; and, owing to their destruction, are not found in the northern countries, where they most abounded. This is the first Runic inscription ever found in Cheshire.





## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

*SESSION* 1888-9.

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*Council Meeting, 9th July, 1888.*

**M**INUTES of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Drs. Davies-Colley and Stolterfoth, Messrs. Charles Brown, F. Bullin, J.P., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., J. Hewitt, Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Resolved that the Hon. General Secretary be directed to write to the Town Clerk to the effect that the Society is now prepared to receive the Roman stones at present in the Town Hall and the Dean's Field, and would be glad to have them removed to the Grosvenor Museum as early as possible.

The following ladies and gentlemen were proposed, seconded, and declared duly elected members of the Society, viz.: John Hargreaves, Egerton Park, Rock

Ferry ; Alfred H. Matthews, Egerton Park, Rock Ferry ; George Taylor, 16, St. John's Road, Queen's Park ; John Dodds, Lorne Street, Chester ; John Dugdale, Waterworks, Chester ; J. E. M. Kinsey, solicitor, Chester ; J. F. Eddisbury, J.P., Belgrave House, Wrexham ; Emily F. Marsden, Grosvenor Park Road, Chester ; Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe, M.A., 17, Curzon Park, Chester ; Rev. Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., Cuppin Street, Chester ; The Chester Free Library ; Thomas P. Minton, The Hurst, Rock Ferry ; Alfred Carrington, solicitor, White Friars, Chester.

Presentation copies of the *Journal* were ordered to be sent to Mr. Sheraton and Mr. George Prichard, and for review to the editors of the *Athenæum*, the *Academy*, the *Chester Courant*, the *Chester Chronicle*, the *Liverpool Courier*, the *Liverpool Daily Post*, and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Resolved that the Hon. General Secretary be directed to write to the Chairman of the Improvement Committee as to the Water Tower on the city walls being called a Museum, whereby strangers were led to believe it was the City Museum, and requesting that it should be properly described so as not to mislead strangers.

Resolved that the Council begs to offer its congratulations to Mr. Henry Taylor, the Hon. General Secretary on his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors.

*Archæologia*, vol. xxix., presented by the Society of Antiquaries, London.

*Collectanea Antiqua*, vols. iv., v., and vi. (incomplete), by the author, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

*Chairman.*

August 13th, 1888.

*Council Meeting, 13th August, 1888.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Alderman Charles Brown, Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. I. E. Ewen, F. Bullin, J.P., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., S. Rigby, J.P., J. Hewitt, Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. General Secretary was directed to write the following letters, viz.:—

To the City Surveyor, to the effect that the Society was now ready to receive the Roman stones at present at the Town Hall and in the Dean's Field.

To the Archæological Section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute in reply, to the effect that the Council would be glad to do what they could to show them the points of interest on their approaching visit to the city.

The following were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: John Stanfield Boddington, Chester; James King, Chester; Rev. F. S. Banner, B.A., Dunham-o'th'-Hill; Rev. W. E. Torr, M.A., Carlett Park, Eastham; Rev. Francis Sandars, M.A., Eastham; The Boston Free Library, U.S.A.

The following gift was announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donor:—From the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Stubbs, F.S.A.): *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twelfth year of the reign of King Henry II.*, A.D. 1165-6.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

October 2nd, 1888.

Chairman.

*Council Meeting, 1st October, 1888.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Dr. Stolterfoth, Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Alexander Lamont, I. E. Ewen, I. M. Jones, F. Bullin, J.P., and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following noblemen and gentlemen were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., Knowsley, Prescott; Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., Oulton Park, Cheshire; Sir Albert W. Woods, C.B., F.S.A., Garter King at Arms, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.; Thomas E. Tatton, J.P., Wythenshawe Hall, Northenden; George Dixon, J.P., Astle Hall, Chelford; Robert Oliver Orton, J.P., Tattenhall; George Barbour, J.P., Bolesworth Castle, Tattenhall; R. H. Wood, F.S.A., Hatton, Daresbury; Henry W. King, M.D., 18, Newgate Street, Chester; Rev. W. C. Watson, M.A., Tarvin Road, Chester; John R. Williams, solicitor, Dorchester House, Chester; Robert Morris, 67, Queen's Parade, Scarborough; Henry Davis Jolliffe, solicitor, Black Friars, Chester; Ellison Powell, 44, Coleman Street, London, E.C.; Charles S. Roundell, Dorfold Hall, Nantwich; H. H. Smith Carrington, Stanley Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester; William Gregg, The Watergate, Chester; Walter Welsby, Stanley Place, Chester; James F. Lowe, B.A., Dee Banks, Chester; John Edwards, 74, Foregate Street, Chester; Stephen Golder, Nicholas Street, Chester; T. Horton, 4, Havelock Square, Shef-

field; Major P. Egerton Warburton, J.P., The Dene, Northwich.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors, viz.:

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ix. New series.

From the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. i., 1883; vol. ii., 1884.

From the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, vol. xii., part 1.

From his lordship the President of the Society:—

*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii., parts 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; vols. ix., x., xi., xii., part 1.

*St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. i. (complete), 1879; vol. ii., parts 1 and 2.

*The Foundations of Waltham Abbey*. By W. Stubbs, D.D.

*Academia Oxoniensis Topographica Deliniata*.

*County Architectural Reports*, 1860.

*Roman Conquest of Britain*. Dr. Evans.

*Account of Savaric, Bishop of Bath*, 1192-1205, by the Rev. C. M. Church, M.A., F.S.A.

*English Origin of Gothic Architecture*, by J. H. Parker, Hon. M.A., F.S.A.

*English Law of Attainder, &c.*, by Alfred Bailey.

*Notices of Edmund of Langley and his Tomb*, by Dr. J. Evans.

*Notes on the Life of Col. Thomas Rainborowe*, by Edward Peacock, F.S.A.

*The Custumary of the Manor and Soke of Rothley*, by Geo. Thos. Clark, F.S.A.

*Ancient Cemetary at Frilford*, by George Rolleston, M.D., F.S.A.

*The Ritual Ordinance of Neophytus*, by Edwin Freshfield, F.S.A.

*The Episcopate of Reginald, Bishop of Bath, 1174-1191,*  
by Rev. C. M. Church, M.A., F.S.A.

*Somersetshire Archæological Society, 26 parts.*

*Essex Archæological Society, 26 parts.*

*The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, 2 vols.,*  
by Wm. Stubbs, D.D.

*Historical Works of Chronicles of Edward I. and II.,*  
2 vols.

From Leonard Gilbert, Esq., Map of Chester, by  
Hollar.

The Hon. General Secretary laid before the Council the proof of the proposed programme for the forthcoming session, when the same was approved and adopted.

Resolved that the following address be presented to his lordship the President of the Society, at the opening meeting on the 29th inst.:—

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM, BY DIVINE PERMISSION,  
LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.

WE, the Council of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society, beg leave to assure your lordship of our profound regret at losing you as our President. Your historic research, which is of more than European fame, your unmatched power in dealing with ancient records, as well as your unfailing kindness and geniality, have made us feel ever since you have been amongst us that we had a President who commanded our unfeigned respect and affection.

We may be allowed to wish your lordship everything that may conduce to your welfare in the diocese over which you have been called to rule.

We cling to the hope that we may be able to prevail on your lordship to come back to visit us, and perhaps to give



us the benefit of hearing you once again on subjects which are so thoroughly your own.

Dated at Chester, the 29th day of October, A.D. 1888.

(Signed)

*Patron*: WESTMINSTER.

*Vice-Presidents.*

EGERTON OF TATTON.	W. WYNNE FFOULKES.
WILLIAM BROWN, Mayor.	HORATIO LLOYD.
JOHN SMITH, Sheriff.	THOMAS HUGHES.
JOHN L. DARBY.	FREDERICK POTTS.
EDWARD BARBER.	

*Hon. Secretaries.*

J. P. EARWAKER.	HENRY TAYLOR.
	HARRY BESWICK.

*Hon. Curator.*

GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE.

*Hon. Librarian.*

I. E. EWEN.

*Hon. Treasurer*: GEORGE FRATER.

*Elected Members.*

EDMUND J. BAILLIE.	JOHN HEWITT.
CHARLES BROWN.	I. MATTHEWS JONES.
FRED. BULLIN.	ALEXANDER LAMONT.
T. DAVIES COLLEY.	HENRY STOLTERFOTH.
HENRY GRANTHAM.	S. COOPER SCOTT.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

October 22nd, 1888.

*Chairman.*

*Council Meeting, 22nd October, 1888.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Dr. Davies Colley, Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. Alexander Lamont, I. Matthews Jones, Frederick Potts, George Frater (Hon.

Treasurer), Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), and Harry Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following circular convening the meeting was read :—

CHESTER ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

A Council meeting will be held at the Grosvenor Museum on Monday night next, the 22nd instant, at 5-30 p.m.

HENRY TAYLOR,

Chester, October 18th, 1888.

*Hon. Secretary.*

*Business.*

To consider a proposition for the sale of the Society's Stanley Palace property to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., and if such sale is determined upon to request and direct the trustees to sell in accordance with the terms of the trust deed.

It was unanimously resolved that the Derby House or Stanley Palace, situate on the south side of Watgate Street, in the city of Chester, the property of the Society, be sold to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., subject to the chief rent charged upon it, and subject to which the Society purchased it, for the sum of £800, and that the Hon. General Secretary be and is hereby directed and authorised to sign the usual contract under the Chester conditions of sale on behalf of the Society with Lord Derby's agent for effecting such sale if necessary.

It was unanimously resolved that the trustees under the deed of trust of 1868 be requested and directed to sell, dispose of, and convey the said Stanley Palace property to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., subject to the chief rent affecting the same, for the sum of £800, and to execute all necessary deeds and assurances for carrying out such sale.

The following were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society: The Hon. Mrs. Caroline Lascelles, Norley, Frodsham; Robert Wilkinson, Upper Northgate Street, Chester; Alfred G. Ayrton, Abbot's Rock, Chester; Philip Pennant Pennant, M.A., J.P., D.L., Nantlys, St. Asaph; Chas. A. Ewing, Woodlands Villa, Hoole, Chester; William Monk, Boughton, Chester; the Rev. Canon Feilden, M.A., Bebington; the Rev. A. H. Fish, M.A., B.Sc., Arnold House, Chester; T. Harrison Myres, Sunnyside, Ashton-upon-Ribble.

Resolved that this Society join in the proposed Archaeological Congress to be held at the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, London.

The Society's thanks were given to Mr. Thomas M. Lockwood for his handsome present of a Roman quern found seven feet below his house in Foregate Street.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

*Chairman.*

October 22nd, 1888.

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*General Meeting, 29th October, 1888.*

The opening meeting of the session 1888-9 was held on the above date in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of the diocese, President of the Society, in the chair.

Present: The Worshipful the Mayor (W. Brown, Esq.), the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., and Mrs. Barber, the Rev. Canon Feilden, M.A., Mrs. and Miss Stubbs, Alderman Charles Brown, the Revs. H. Grantham, T. E. Scott, M.A., C. L. Feltoe, M.A., and Mrs. Feltoe, Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., and T. G. Cox, M.A., Drs. Davies Colley and Stolterfoth, Mrs. Hignett, Mrs. and Miss Taylor, Mrs. McEwen, Mrs. Henry Taylor, Miss Marsden, Mrs. Scott, Mr. J. P.

Earwaker, F.S.A., Mr. P. H. Fletcher, Mr. I. E. Ewen and Mrs. Ewen, Mr. T. M. Lockwood and Mrs. Lockwood, Mr. J. R. Williams, Dr. King, Mr. H. Beswick and Mrs. Beswick, Mr. A. Lamont and Mrs. Lamont, Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Gardner, Mr. T. Shephard, Mr. J. R. Griffith and Mrs. Griffith, Mr. E. W. Cox, Mr. Sheraton, Mr. Hargreaves, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Mr. I. M. Jones, Mr. Jas. F. Lowe, B.A., Mr. George Frater, Mr. F. F. Brown, M.A., Mr. J. R. Dutton, Mr. and Mrs. Ballard, Mr. C. Minshull, Mr. W. Gregg, Mr. E. Minshull, Mr. R. Wilkinson, Mr. W. E. Brown, and Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The Hon. General Secretary announced that thirty-seven members had been elected since the last general meeting of the Society, and enumerated the various gifts also presented to the Society during the same period.<sup>1</sup>

The Ven. the Archdeacon of Chester, on behalf of the Council and of the Society, presented the President with the address.<sup>2</sup>

THE RIGHT REV. PRESIDENT, who on rising was warmly applauded, said he hoped they would give him credit for feeling an amount of gratitude for the kind address they had presented to him, out of all proportion to anything he could say about it. The services he had been able to furnish to the Society were very small, very small indeed; and the only merit he felt he could claim for them was that they had been furnished with very great pleasure to himself; and if they had had the effect of stimulating any sympathy among the members, and those outside the Society, he was very thankful for it. The subjects which they studied in common were subjects which for a

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<sup>1</sup> See the minutes of the Council meetings.

<sup>2</sup> See page 197.

great many years—more years than it was pleasant to remember—had engaged his attention, and had formed not only a very appreciable part of his literary and educational life, but really had also been a source of the greatest pleasure and a means of relaxation in his holidays, when he had had holidays, and had been poking about here and there on expeditions and in researches after matters such as those to which the Society devoted itself. He hoped they would believe him when he said he was grateful as well as highly complimented. The address, from the very affectionate terms in which it was couched and the precious signatures attached to it, he should always keep as a very cherished possession. (Applause.)

Now, he was not sure whether it was his duty on that occasion to make an address. He observed that Mr. Henry Taylor had put down on the agenda "Opening speech of the Chairman;" but he did not know that that "opening speech" need include anything more than the mere announcement of the names of the speakers. There were, however, one or two things on which he might have a word to say. He thought, perhaps, they would allow him to mention two or three points that had been before the public during the last year in reference to archæological matters, and on which he might, in a mild sort of way, rather wish to express his opinion to them. The first of these arose out of that most important measure which had passed the Parliament during this year, that was to say, the new Local Government Act. That Act, with certain other Acts which had preceded it—and more especially the Parliamentary Reform Act of two years ago—had taken such liberties with a great many historical and archæological matters, that he felt that for the next generation there would be great difficulty under the alterations of nomenclature

and boundaries—there would be great difficulty in thirty or forty years time for our children to understand a great many institutions under which we at the present time lived. The Reform Bill of three years ago altered so entirely and so fundamentally all the ancient principles of Parliamentary representation with regard to the shire constitution, that he really thought they had, without knowing it, passed through a crisis such as they had not certainly passed through since the reign of Henry VIII. The Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 left most of the ancient landmarks for the most part untouched, but the recent Act was a right-about-face, a change of all boundaries, altering to a very great extent the character of county representation, and introducing new principles, altogether, he believed, beside the ancient constitution. He was not now speaking politically, but what he wanted to point out was that this change of names and functionaries, and this change in the boundaries, did impose upon them some necessity for realising for themselves and their children the state of things under which they had lived.

And that led him to revive in their company the proposition which he made many years ago at the Ripon meeting of the Archæological Institute, and which he advised three years ago when the Archæological Institute held its meetings in Chester—that it was the duty of county societies like theirs, if possible, to draw up maps and surveys—not a very difficult thing to do if they did it with the help of the Ordnance Map—which should preserve all the old landmarks and boundaries for future remembrance. They all knew, at least the lawyers amongst them knew, that since the reign of Edward I. no new manors could be created. They also knew how, in the present day, the whole manorial system was dying

out. Still, however, a map containing minute details of manorial boundaries as they now exist would practically form a key to the condition of these institutions in the year 1290, and would form an intelligible guide to the divisions of personal and political parties throughout the intervening period. On that hung a great deal, not merely of manorial rights, not merely of court rolls, not merely of deputations to gamekeepers, not merely of leases and life interests, of fines and renewals, but a great deal of the political history of the past—of the most trying times of our national life. If they could once mark out the territorial divisions over which the great lords of Cheshire and Lancashire had political influence, they could determine the position in which their own forefathers, even in the humblest class of life, had to take in relation to the great questions of those days. He really did think that that was a matter of very great interest, if not of real importance, to them all. Of course, he thought and believed that, on the simplest application of the doctrines of evolution and heredity, all of them were indebted to a great extent for their political life to the turn of affairs and the experiences their forefathers had gone through, and he was sure their posterity would be in the same way indebted to them. Posterity might take a diametrically contrary line to ours; but, even if they did, the line of reaction or antipathy would itself be largely determined by the influence of heredity. Whether they follow us or revolt from us, their action must largely be influenced by ours. Now, if the Society could have something of this kind of survey—and it could be done by simply getting the agents of those properties—and such agents were to be found in all great towns—to mark out on the Ordnance Maps the boundaries of great manors, they could then trace out the details of territorial politics through

the Wars of the Roses, and through the wars of the reign of Richard II., when Cheshire history was of the very greatest importance, as well as through the struggles of the Commonwealth and of later politics. They might work out the history of the political education of individuals, families, and districts, in a way that to some minds was quite as interesting as the tracing of the development of abstract ideas; and this certainly would be of the greatest interest to their descendants. If they would allow him to say so, however, though he did not believe in Democracy—he was not a Democrat—it was notorious that the more democratic people became, the more careful they were to find out what their ancestors had done before them. (Laughter.) He was certain that no nation in the Old World paid so much attention to pedigrees as did the American. (Renewed laughter.)

There was another point upon which these surveys might be useful; and it was not on a mere matter of interest as to personal history, but of the history of national institutions. The other day, at Oxford, he saw a large number of photographic maps—photographic surveys of a number of estates—illustrative of the three-field system of husbandry. Those of them who had studied constitutional development knew that the three-field system of husbandry was of very primitive origin, and, on certain theories, was supposed to be the basis of all political life. He did not go so far as that himself; indeed, he had distinctly denied, so far as his own department of history was concerned, that that would hold. But as a step in the progress of civilisation it was a great matter; just in this way; the three-field system of husbandry supposed that each district or township possessed a large tract of common land, divided into three portions, each portion being sown and reaped alternately every three



years, according to an arrangement under which each of the owners, each of the freemen of the township, should have such portion of the three fields as was supposed to be due to him allotted annually by the collective township meeting, such township meeting answering to some extent to our present vestry meeting. This, it is supposed, was a part of the educational discipline by which the earliest forms of local self-government were developed. Now, this three-field husbandry system existed in a great part of England until the present century. There were surveys made in the middle of the last century of large estates, in which this common land was marked into three columns ruled across; and they would find that no one tenant, no one freeman of a township, held the whole of his share of the common land permanently or together. If he had a portion at the top of the first column, it was supplemented by another at the middle of the second, and another at the bottom of the third column, or so on; so that the utmost care was exercised that no man, by having a very compact portion, should acquire a definite and permanent interest in a particular portion of the field, and so secure to himself a separate piece of land in perpetuity free from the annual re-allotment. But all that was altered in the last century, although common lands existed at the beginning of this century, and he believed in some parts were to be found still. But, as a rule, that order of things was finished, and all interest attached to it was in the way of being forgotten. Yet, if there were any such surveys in the muniment rooms of Cheshire landlords, or, what was more probable, among the title deeds of charitable corporations, those things ought to be preserved and carefully looked after, and might, if circumstances rendered it necessary, be reproduced in photography or otherwise, so that they might be read or quoted on matters of great importance.

That was the first point he wished to bring before the Society, and he thought it was one which would not require any great outlay of money, as it might be brought about by small committees of persons interested; and, as soon as the landowners found out that the antiquaries did not want to pick a hole in their titles, he thought they would meet with considerable welcome.

There was another point upon which he felt rather more shyness in speaking to them, because he knew that it was one upon which there would be a very considerable difference of opinion—that was about the parish registers. They knew that there had been considerable discussion in the newspapers, not long ago, advocating the withdrawal of parochial registers from the custody of the parishes; that they be given up by the clergy and brought together into some central repository, either a county repository, or a general repository in London, perhaps in the Record Office or at Somerset House. Of course he knew that that would go very much against the grain. He knew that Mr. Cooper Scott would object in the very strongest way to the registers of St. John's being taken away and sent to London. (Laughter.) He knew also that there were parishes in Cheshire where, without mentioning names or throwing any invidious remark upon anybody, it would not be regarded as an altogether objectionable thing to get rid of the registers altogether. He did not, however, mean to say that the relief would be all on one side by any means. He had been a parish priest himself, and had had interesting registers in his charge, and perhaps had consulted as many registers as any person in the country who was not connected with the Heralds' College; and he could say that the difficulties of the present system of depositing the registers were very considerable indeed. It was a very great nuisance, for instance, for a clergyman

to be called upon to bore his way through his registers without, in the first place, a prospect of compensation. (Laughter.) He could not very well get rid of his applicants. And it had been a great nuisance to him, as he dared say it had been to a great many others when making a call of the kind on the clergyman, to find that he had gone away without leaving the key. (Renewed laughter.)

In connection with this also a very great deal was to be said regarding the safety of parish registers. He himself had discovered in one instance a treasure in the bottom of a sack, which certainly had not been opened for forty or fifty years, containing the deeds of a clergyman who had been curate, about the year 1815, of a parish in Yorkshire. About 1875 he discovered at the bottom of this sack the registers of a parish, of which the owner had been curate fifty or sixty years before, and which registers would not probably have been recovered if they had not been put in the bottom of the sack. He knew that years ago, when there was a proposition to remove the Yorkshire registers to London, an immense body of county influence was brought to bear against the proposed change. But notwithstanding that, and, acknowledging as he had done that he had been to a great extent converted himself—and whatever he said they might take with a certain amount of discount—he was coming gradually round to the belief that after all it might be desirable that the registers should be deposited in a central place; and, if that could not be done in the county, it would be better to take them to London and have it done there; and if they should want to consult a large number of registers at one time it could be done for the price almost of a return ticket to London, whereas if they were left in the counties it would be a day's work probably to get at half-a-dozen of

them. It might make a difference to the clergyman who had a right to demand very considerable fees for searching the register, and for a fair copy of an entry; but a great nuisance would in many cases be avoided. On this account, he said, he thought that he might be beginning to gradually change his opinion on the subject. And if the time did come for a general change they would find that societies like theirs would be consulted, and something would be left to them; and it would be as well for them to make up their minds on what was to be said under the circumstances. He dared say Mr. Earwaker could have gone very much fuller into the matter than he had done, but, while he was only an amateur, Mr. Earwaker was a professional authority and very much more experienced. As it was, probably he would have found his great history of the Hundred of Macclesfield would have been worked out with far greater ease, if he had had the registers comfortably together in Fetter Lane instead of having to bump about Cheshire lanes in search of the churches, and in the end being unable to find the clergyman. (Loud laughter.) These were two points he had to mention. The other was one on which he need not trouble them then. It was the great question between architects and antiquaries on the matter of restorations—a topic which he must leave to another occasion, if he were permitted to come to see them and talk to them again. (Applause.)

The Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., then read a very interesting paper on the subject of "The ancient churchwardens' accounts and vestry minutes of the parish of St. John" at Chester, which was highly appreciated, and listened to with close attention. Mr. Scott's paper will be found on pp. 48-70.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., and Mr. H. Taylor, F.S.A., made a few remarks, after which Dr. Davies Colley proposed and Dr. Stolterfoth seconded a vote of thanks to

Mr. Scott, which was unanimously accorded and afterwards acknowledged.

On the motion of the Right Worshipful the Mayor, seconded by the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the President, which his lordship acknowledged, and mentioned that he hoped to be able to address the Society on several points of interest when he next came to visit them.

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*Council Meeting, 19th November, 1888.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: Charles Brown, Esq., in the chair; Messrs. A. Lamont, I. M. Jones, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), and George Frater (Hon. Treasurer).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: Henry S. Threlfall, solicitor, 12, London Road, Southport; the Guildhall Library, London (Charles Welch, librarian); the Chetham Library, Manchester; William Holland, surveyor, Upton, Chester.

The following bills were ordered to be paid:—

J. P. Earwaker, for use of blocks of				
Roman remains, as per contract -	£10	0	0	
The same for index to last volume,				
postages, &c.	-	-	3	17 0
J. Harrison, bookcase repairs	-	-	0	11 2
Edward Thomas, printing	-	-	0	4 6
Minshull and Meeson	-	-	0	5 0
G. R. Griffith, stationery and printing			5	1 9
Secretary's postages, &c.	-	-	0	10 0
G. W. Shrubsole, staging	-	-	2	13 8

John Edwards, book	-	-	-	£0	6	3
George Frater, book	-	-	-	0	5	6
Charles Lowe, <i>Archæologia</i> , six vols.	-			3	3	0
Isaac Williams, bookcase	-	-		0	5	2
James King, transcript President's opening address	-	-	-	1	15	0

Resolved that Messrs. Ireland and Company's account stand over for consideration.

Resolved that in future no book be taken out of the library without it is first entered in the loan-book by Mr. Newstead, the custodian of the Grosvenor Museum, and signed for by the borrower, provided always that the books marked by the Librarian with a star shall not be taken out at all, but shall be treated as books of reference only.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

December 17th, 1888.

*Chairman.*

*General Meeting, 19th November, 1888.*

The second monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, Alderman Charles Brown in the chair.

Present: Mr. T. M. Lockwood, F.R.I.B.A., and Mrs. Lockwood, Mr. and Mrs. W. Welsby, the Misses Fluitt, Mrs. McEwen, Revs. F. S. Banner, B.A., W. Vaughan, M.A., and S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Messrs. A. Lamont, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., P. H. Fletcher, E. W. Cox, G. R. Griffith, E. Thomas, A. Rimmer, J. L. Wilkinson, T. M. Wilcock, J. Hargreaves, J. R. Dutton, W. L. Ryland, J. B. Taylor, I. M. Jones, the Sheriff of Chester, J. G. Holmes, T. Shephard, Miss Marsden, Miss Birch, Mr. J. Phillipson, Mr. Paul Price, Miss Pullan, Mrs. Tomlin, Mr. R. Gregg, Mr. and Mrs. H. Beswick, Mr. James F. Lowe,

B.A., Miss Roberts, and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), and G. Frater (Hon. Treasurer).

The Hon. and Rev. William Trevor Kenyon, M.A., Rector of Malpas, read a paper entitled, "On Malpas Church and Parish." (See pp. 162-174.)

On the motion of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by Mr. P. H. Fletcher, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Kenyon for his interesting paper. Mr. Kenyon, in his reply, invited the members of the Society to visit Malpas in the spring or summer, when he would be better able to describe the church on the spot.

In the absence of Mr. G. C. Richardson, F.R.I.B.A., of Llangollen, through illness, Mr. H. Harold Hughes, architect, of St. Albans, read a paper entitled, "On Valle Crucis Abbey, with special reference to recent discoveries." The paper was illustrated by a number of drawings and rubbings. An account of the recent discoveries of early tombstones at Valle Crucis Abbey, by Mr. Richardson, will be found on pp. 175-177.

On the motion of the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., seconded by Mr. T. M. Lockwood, F.R.I.B.A., a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Hughes, who acknowledged the same.

The Hon. Curator (Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S.) exhibited and described a centurial stone recently found in excavating the foundation of Messrs. Lamont's new premises (see pp. 45-47); also a spear head found in the same premises, and a battle axe found in making the new Chester and Connah's Quay Railway, near Northgate Street.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Lamont, and seconded by the Hon. Secretary, having been accorded and acknowledged, a very interesting and instructive evening was brought to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 17th December, 1888.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. Lamont, I. M. Jones, Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), and H. Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: Mr. W. Coventry, Watergate Street, Chester; Mr. John Harrison, sen., 58, Princess Street, Chester; Miss Baker, Bridge Street, Chester.

The Librarian forwarded a book, which was presented to the Society by the author, *Footprints of Vanished Races in the Mississippi Valley*, by A. J. Conant, and the Secretary was directed to acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of the Society, with thanks.

Resolved, that the *Antiquary* for the past year be purchased, and that it be taken in monthly for the future.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

January 21st, 1889.

*Chairman.*

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*General Meeting, 17th December, 1888.*

The third monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair.

Present: The Sheriff of Chester and Mr. Frederick Potts (Vice-Presidents), the Revs. J. Godson, S. C. Scott,



M.A., and Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., Drs. Stolterfoth and King, Messrs. T. S. Gleadowe, M.A., E. W. Cox, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., A. Lamont, E. Hodgkinson, A. Rimmer, the Misses Howson, Mrs. and Miss Taylor, Mrs. McEwen, Mrs. H. Taylor, Mrs. Haining, Miss Marsden, Mr. George and Miss Prichard, Mr. H. D. and Miss Jolliffe, Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Mr. Hargreaves (Rock Ferry), Messrs. George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), and H. Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary), &c., &c.

At the request of the Chairman, the Hon. General Secretary explained why the programme had been altered, and announced that Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, would read a paper on the St. Werburgh Charters at the next meeting, and that Mr. Lowe's paper on the Goldsmith's Company, and Mr. Shrubsole's on the Walls, would be read at future meetings.

The Hon. General Secretary, in the unavoidable absence of the author, read a paper written by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., entitled, "Notes on the Registers and Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St. Michael, Chester." (See pp. 26-44.)

The paper having been read, the Hon. General Secretary exhibited several chalices and pattens, together with a flagon, forming part of the numerous pieces of church plate belonging to the parish. One of the silver chalices, which bore traces of having been gilt, and weighed about eighteen ounces, was thought to be the same as that which was mentioned in the inventory made in 1553 by Edward the Sixth's Commissioners, and also included in the schedule of "Implements and vestments" handed over to the new churchwardens elected on the 3rd April, 1564. The Hon. General Secretary stated he had shown the chalice (which was not hall marked) to Mr. George Lowe, the

silversmith, who pronounced it to be of a pre-Reformation date, and was undoubtedly one of the oldest pieces of church plate in the diocese of Chester.

The Chairman having invited discussion, Mr. Godson mentioned that there were a great number of interesting entries in the parish books, and he himself was engaged in writing an account of the church bells, respecting which the entries were very numerous. Mr. E. W. Cox referred to the quantity of lead taken from the cross, and suggested that it might have stood outside the church. Mr. G. W. Shrubsole referred to the ringing of the bells in the early morning, and mentioned that the bells of the city churches were rung at different hours early in the morning as well as in the evening. He also expressed regret that more was not known respecting the ancient monastery of St. Michael, and mentioned that mediæval Mosaic pavements had been found over Roman work in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Michael's Church.

The Hon. General Secretary, in referring to Mr. Earwaker's remarks as to the Roman Catholic Ritual having evidently been used in the church for the first six years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, observed that certainly in 1562 Queen Elizabeth could not dispense with certain of the old Roman ceremonies, and that while some of the clergy used the old habits, others laid them aside. Many of the bishops connived at this deviation from the Act of Uniformity. This unsettled state of things continued until 1565, when Archbishop Parker issued a book for the discipline of the clergy, entitled *Advertisements*. Then it was that the Nonconformists abandoned the church and began to erect conventicles for themselves. It appeared from Lingard and other historians that the then Bishop of Chester spoke very strongly against the repeal of the statutes passed in Queen Mary's reign for

the support of the ancient faith, and he was one of the five bishops, who, with three doctors of divinity, were named in 1559 to dispute in public on certain controverted points of religion on behalf of the old faith, as against eight reformed divines, before the Lord-keeper Bacon, and he was subsequently bound over and afterwards fined in the sum of 200 marks. This bishop was Cuthbert Scott, D.D., Master of Christ Church College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University in 1554 and 1555. Sir Peter Leycester, in his *Cheshire Antiquities*, thus speaks of him, "He was put out by Queen Elizabeth, a forward person, who being put into the Prison of the Fleet in London made an escape, and fled to Louvain where he died. He was one of the nine prelates, who with as many Temporal Peers entered their assent against the Act of Uniformity, against which he spoke warmly." Perhaps the fact that this bishop was such a warm adherent of the old faith might in some measure account for the religious ceremonies being kept up in Chester so long after the Reformation. His successor was consecrated in 1561.

The Chairman and others having made further remarks as to the plate and other interesting topics bearing upon the subject of the lecture, a vote of thanks to Mr. Earwaker was proposed and unanimously passed, and the Hon. Secretary was directed to communicate the same to Mr. Earwaker. The usual vote of thanks to the Chairman brought a very interesting lecture to a conclusion.

The Hon. General Secretary afterwards exhibited several impressions of Cheshire seals, and expressed the hope that some member of the Society would take an interest in this subject and endeavour to form a collection for the Society. He also exhibited several old Chester bank notes, race cards, and other objects of local interest.

*Council Meeting, 21st January, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Dr. Davies Colley, Dr. Stolterfoth, Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. I. E. Ewen, Alexander Lamont, Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidate was proposed, seconded, and duly elected a member of the Society: Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., New College, Oxford.

The following circular convening the meeting was read:

CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

A Council meeting will be held at the Grosvenor Museum on Monday, January 21st, 1889, at 7-15 p.m.

HENRY TAYLOR,

*Hon. General Secretary.*

*Business.*

To formally record the Society's approval of an exchange of land at the Derby House property, which was effected about the month of November, 1868, with Dr. John Harrison Colley, the owner of the adjoining property, which exchange, though ever since acted upon, has never been legally completed.

Grosvenor Museum, Chester, January 19th, 1889.

Proposed by Alderman Chas. Brown, seconded by Dr. Davies Colley, and unanimously

Resolved, that this Society hereby testifies its approval of and acquiescence in the exchange made on behalf of this Society with Dr. John Harrison Colley about November, 1868, whereby a portion of the Derby House premises, as

conveyed to the trustees of the Society on the 13th March, 1866, was given to Dr. John Harrison Colley, and enclosed by him in exchange for a portion of Dr. John Harrison Colley's property, which was then thrown into and now forms part of the Derby House estate, and whereby a right of passage over the Derby House yard was given to the said Dr. John Harrison Colley. And that the sale authorised at a meeting of this Council on the 22nd October, 1888, be carried into effect, having regard to such exchange.

The Hon. General Secretary read a correspondence with the Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Resolved, that the Librarian forward copies of the *Journal* of the Society to the Bodleian Library.

The following bills were ordered to be paid:—

Messrs. Alexander Ireland and Co.	-	£94	17	8
Mr. G. R. Griffith	- - - -	3	5	0
Mr. John Croft	- - - -	0	5	0

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

February 1st, 1889.

*Chairman.*

*General Meeting, 21st January, 1889.*

The fourth monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, Dr. Davies Colley in the chair.

Present: The Revs. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., and F. S. Banner, B.A., Dr. King, Mr. A. O. Walker, J.P., Aldermen Charles Brown and Charles Dutton, the Misses Fluitt, Mrs. and Miss H. Taylor, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Hall, Miss Marsden, Mrs. Haining, Mr. H. D. and Miss Jolliffe, Messrs. E. W. Cox, J. F. Lowe, B.A., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., P. H. Fletcher, T. Shephard, W. Shone, F.G.S., Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Dutton, Messrs.

J. G. Holmes, John Phillipson, Geo. Rogerson, &c., Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The Hon. General Secretary announced that the following books and gifts had been presented to the Society, the receipt of which was acknowledged with thanks, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the donors, and the Secretary was directed to communicate the same to them:—

By the Right Rev. the Bishop of Oxford: Fairfax's *Dæmonologia*; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. xii., part 2; *Nature and Origin of the House of Lords*; *Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, Proceedings*, parts 17, 18, 19; *English Church Registers, Petitions to Parliament*; *Transactions, Essex Architectural Society*, Title and Index, vol. ii.; *Evidence of the Occupation of Bath by the Twentieth Legion*.

By Mr. T. Harrison Myers: *Old Stone Crosses, Past and Present*.

By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.: *The Walls of Chester, British Architectural Association*, 1888; *Relics of Ancient Forest Life; Probable Date of the Foundation of the Roman Colony of Glevum and its Occupation by the Second Legion*.

By Dr. Brushfield: *The Bishoprick of Exeter*, 1419-20.

By Mr. Griffiths: Part of the accoutrements of a volunteer, *temp.* eighteenth century.

By Mr. W. E. Brown: A copper coin, dated 1742, found in Handbridge.

The following letter to Archdeacon Barber was read from Mr. de Gray Birch, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum:—

BRITISH MUSEUM,

18th January, 1889.

My dear Sir,—I find it will be impossible for me to be in Chester on Monday, so I am reluctantly obliged to forego your kind invitation.

I shall post my paper to you on Saturday, in order that it may reach you in time for the meeting, and I shall be much obliged if you will read it to the Society, with many apologies for the unavoidable absence of the author. We have here so many manuscripts about Chester, the monastery, city, county, and the ancient earls, that a very interesting book could be compiled out of them, if the funds could be found to pay for it. If possible I hope some day to give a corresponding paper on the "Charters of the Earls of Chester," if the present paper is not too dry for your audience.

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

W. DE G. BIRCH.

The Chairman then called upon the Archdeacon to read Mr. W. de Gray Birch's paper, which he accordingly did, entitled, "An Account of the Charters and other MSS. in the British Museum relating to the Monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, now Chester Cathedral" (see pp. 1-25).

The Hon. Secretary then read the following letter received from Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Editorial Secretary:—

PENSARN, ABERGELE, NORTH WALES,

*January 19th, 1889.*

My dear Taylor,—I am very sorry not to be able to be present at Mr. Birch's paper on Monday next, as I should much like to hear it and to see Mr. Birch, if he is able to leave London. I am, however, detained here.

With this I send you two deeds granted by Abbots of St. Werburgh's, for exhibition at the meeting. The earliest of these, which I have had for many years, is one of much interest from its antiquity, being a grant by Hugh Grylle, Abbot of St. Werburgh's from 1208 to 1226, of the half of a mill in Alvanley. It is a beautiful specimen of an early deed, the date of which can be fixed within a few years. The ink is as clear as when originally written, over 660 years ago.

The large seal has entirely perished. The second and much later deed has more local interest than the former, as it is the original grant of a burial place, three yards in length by two yards in width, in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, to John Birkenhead, gentleman, by Thomas, Abbot of Chester, in the seventeenth year of King Henry VIII., 1525. This interesting document, of which I send a full translation, I recently met with whilst examining a number of old deeds and papers, in private hands in Chester, and it is only another illustration of what curious records may thus be found. The stone placed over this burial place in St. Mary's is, I think, the one frequently referred to in the registers and elsewhere as "the great marble stone." To this deed there is a portion of the original seal still remaining, and, strangely enough, it has enabled the authorities at the British Museum to very nearly complete an exact copy of the original seal of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, of which no perfect impression appears to be known. Casts of as much as is at present known will be exhibited at the meeting this evening.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Henry Taylor, Esq., F.S.A.

J. P. EARWAKER.

### *Translation of Deed.*

Grant of a Burial place in the Chancel of St. Mary on the Hill, Chester, by the Abbot of St. Werburgh's Abbey, 1525.

To all the faithful in Christ who shall see this our present writing, Thomas, by Divine Permission, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, and the Convent of the same place, patrons of the parish church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, upon the Hill, in the City of Chester, (sends) greeting in our Lord everlasting. Know ye that we, the said Abbot and Convent, with unanimous consent, have granted and conceded to our beloved, John Birkenhead, gentleman, three yards of land in length and two yards of land in breadth, lying in the Chancel (*in cancellaro*) of the said parish church, where Joan, late the wife of the said John Birkenhead, is interred and now lies. To have and to hold the said land to the said John, his heirs or assigns, for



ever. And we, the said Abbot and Convent, appoint our beloved, Hugh Peck, our lawful attorney, to deliver seisin of the said land to the said John, in our name, to hold to him and his heirs. In testimony of which we have placed our common seal to this our present writing. Given in our Chapter House, the 11th day of May, in the 17th year of King Henry the Eighth [1525].

The Chairman having invited remarks, the Hon. General Secretary said the *Annales Cestrienses*, referred to in Mr. de Gray Birch's paper as being at Mostyn, had through the kindness of Lord Mostyn recently been edited by Chancellor Christie, of Manchester, and printed by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, the proofs having been revised by their late President, Bishop Stubbs, and in it would be found full reference to the events relating to Roger de Montalt and Lucas de Taney, to which Mr. Birch referred in his paper. Also that in volume 1 of the Society's *Journal*, page 169, there will be found a full description by the late Rev. W. H. Massie, M.A., of the confirmation charter by Anselm and by Randle Gernons, Earl of Chester, of the original grant by Hugh Lupus to St. Werburgh's Monastery. It is a most perfect and beautiful deed, and is of the utmost local interest. It would be seen that this was one of the documents, which was in the possession of his grace the Duke of Westminster, at Eaton Hall. As to the *Liber Rubens* to which Mr. Birch referred, he would be glad to know if it was now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. With regard to the note relating to the Abbot of Chester's right to a postern-gate in the walls of Chester and also to one in the Kaleyards, he found the following entry on the Palatinate Rolls.

1450-1, March 18th.—Licence to John, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Werburgh at Chester, to close two small gates (*supra muros*) of the City of Chester, between the

Eastern and Northern Gates, on the representation that the public had access to the gardens of the Monastery and the gates being left open, and that much damage and inconvenience accrued thereby to the Abbot and Monks. The said Abbot and Monastery to hold the keys of the said gates, reserving right of entrance to murrangers in the execution of their office and in time of war for their having the custody of the Walls, as more fully contained in a former licence to the Abbot and Monastery for closing the said gates, dated 3rd December, 2 Henry V.

As to the Abbey's water supply at Christleton, and the charter made to it by Edward I. granting it a right to lay pipes, perhaps Mr. Shrubsole could give some information, for if he (the speaker) remembered rightly the Roman altar dedicated to the Nymphs and Fountains by the Twentieth Legion, and now in the possession of his grace the Duke of Westminster, was found on Christleton Road. With reference to the two deeds exhibited by Mr. Earwaker, the date of the later one was that of Abbot John Birchenshaw's time, but in consequence of his dispute with the Mayor he had to leave Chester, and during the time he was away Thomas Hyphile and Thomas Marshall took his place. It was one of these latter who was the Abbot Thomas referred to in the deed. This deed, which was found amongst old papers in a solicitor's office in Chester, only showed the value of what was considered by many people to be worthless. The portion of the seal attached to the deed enabled the British Museum authorities almost to complete their impression of the monastic seal of St. Werburgh's Abbey.

Mr. Shrubsole remarked that from the earliest times the neighbourhoods of Boughton and Christleton had supplied the city with the best and purest of water. Even in Roman times this was the case, and there were a number of

earthenware pipes of Roman make in the Museum which were found on that side of the city.

Alderman Charles Brown proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Birch for his paper, to the Archdeacon for reading it, and to the Chairman, which, having been responded to, the proceedings of the evening were brought to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 18th February, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Messrs. Alderman Charles Brown, Alexander Lamont, I. E. Ewen, I. Matthews Jones, John Hewitt and Henry Taylor (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: Mr. Hugh Robert Hughes, J.P., Kinmel Park, Abergele, Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire; Mr. J. Aspinall Tobin, Eastham House, Birkenhead.

The Hon. General Secretary announced that the following books and gifts had been presented to the Society, the receipt of which was acknowledged with thanks, and a vote to that effect was accorded to the donor, and the Hon. Secretary was directed to communicate the same to him, viz.:

By Alfred O. Walker, Esq., F.L.S., Leadworks, Chester: *Etruscan Literature*, two vols., by Sir W. Betham; *British Remains*, Rev. N. Owen; *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*; *Horæ Brittannicæ*, by John Hughes; *The Historical Works of the Venerable Bede*, *Ecclesiastical History*, *Lives of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow*;

*The Chronicles of the White Rose of York; Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History; Richard of Devizes' Chronicle of the Deeds of Richard II.; Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain; The Historical Works of Gildas and Nennius; Antiquities of Nations.* Twelve volumes in all.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

March 18th, 1889.

Chairman.

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*General Meeting, 18th February, 1889.*

The fifth monthly meeting of the Session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Charles Brown, Alexander Lamont, A. Rimmer, G. W. Shrubsole, I. E. Ewen, Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and Mrs. Scott, the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., Mrs. McEwen, Miss Marsden, Messrs. J. Hewitt and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), &c., &c.

The Hon. General Secretary announced the names of the new members elected by the Council and the gift of books, and then read a paper entitled, "The Connection of the Civic Officers of Chester with the County Families," written and forwarded by Mr. Robert Morris, of Scarborough, formerly of Richmond House, Boughton, and illustrated it by exhibiting a number of early deeds, to which many of the members of the families referred to by Mr. Morris were either parties or witnesses, also a large and carefully-prepared pedigree, with heraldic illuminations, prepared by Mr. Morris.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Morris for his paper. The Hon. General Secretary then exhibited and

described seven early charters relating to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, kindly sent by Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A., Hatton, Daresbury.

*Circa temp. King John (1199-1216).*—Grant from John, son of John de Boydel, to Roger, his brother, of all his land at Huttrintone (Oughtrington), and of rights in the forest of Lymme. Witnesses: Geoffrey de Duttone, William de Mascy, knights, Alan de Lymme, Robert de Knotisforde, and others.

*18th Henry III. (1233).*—Grant from Robert, son of Liddulph de Croxtone, sheriff, to the Convent of St. Werburgh, Chester, of all his lands in Leghes. Witnesses: Nicholas de Wylileghe, Constable of Chester Castle, Hugh de Cholmondeley, Richard de Wybenbire, Sheriff of Cheshire, Richard de Kingsley, and others.

*32 Henry III. (1248).*—Grant from Warren de Crokestone to Roger, the Abbot, and to the Convent of St. Werburgh, Chester, relating to lands in Leghe. Witnesses: —boc de —so, then Constable of Chester Castle, Walkelin de Arderne, William de Boydele, — de Clifden, Fulk de Orreby, Richard Bernerd, Sheriff of Cheshire, and others.

*51st Henry III. (1267).*—Grant from Thomas, son of Reginald de Twamlowe, to the Convent of St. Werburgh, Chester, of land in the village of Leghes, in exchange for land in the village of Goostre, which he receives from the said Convent. Witnesses: J. de Audethle (Audley) Justice of Chester, R. de Stokeporte, Constable of Chester Castle, Jordan de Penlesdone, Sheriff of Cheshire, Richard de Orreby, Robert de Huxley, and others.

*54 Henry III. (1270).*—Grant from Robert de Croxtone to the Convent of St. Werburgh of land in Cranlache, called Stanilands. Witnesses: Reginald de Grey, Justice of Chester, Richard de Wilburgh [Wilbraham], then Sheriff of Cheshire, and others.

56 *Henry III.* (1272).—Grant from Robert de Croxtone to Symon the Abbot and to the Convent of St. Werburgh, relating to lands at Craunache. Witnesses: Thomas de Meyngare, William de Venables, knights, Robert de — Constable of Chester Castle, Hugh de Hattone, Sheriff of Cheshire, and others.

5th *Edward I.* (1277).—Charter of Richard, son of Robert de Croxtone, releasing to the Convent of St. Werburgh, Chester, his title to lands in Cranlache, called Stanilands. Witnesses: Guncelin de Badelsmere, Justice of Chester, Patrick de Haselwalle, Sheriff of Cheshire, John de Stanley, and others.

A vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Wood for the exhibition of these interesting old deeds.

Mr. Middleton, the Secretary and Treasurer of The Skinners and Felt Makers' Company, exhibited the banner and books of that ancient Chester Company.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Middleton brought the proceedings to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 18th March, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Messrs. H. Stolterfoth, M.D., Alexander Lamont, I. Matthews Jones, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. General Secretary read the correspondence with Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry, as to his reading a paper on the "Hundred of Wirral" before the Society on the 5th April, and the Chairman intimated that the Lord

Bishop of the Diocese, the new President of the Society, would take the chair on the evening of that day. It was unanimously resolved that an extra meeting of the session be held on the evening of the 5th April, that Mr. Hargreaves be invited to read his paper, and that the Chairman and the Hon. General Secretary make suitable arrangements for the reception and introduction of Dr. Francis Jayne, the Lord Bishop of Chester, the new President, to the Council and members of the Society.

The following bills were ordered to be paid:

Miss Pullan	-	-	-	-	£1	11	4
Contribution to Chester Societies	-				8	16	0
Arthur Blayney	-	-	-	-	0	10	6
Whiting and Co.	-	-	-	-	1	1	0
Librarian (sundries, books, &c.)	-				3	6	10

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

April 5th, 1889.

*Chairman.*

*General Meeting, 18th March, 1889.*

The sixth monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair.

Present: His Honour Judge W. Wynne Ffoulkes, M.A., Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. R. Massie Taylor, F. Potts, J. P. Cartwright, Alderman C. Dutton, C. P. Douglas, E. W. Cox, A. Rimmer, the Misses Howson, Mr. H. D. and Miss Jolliffe, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bullin, Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Mr. A. Lamont, Mr. George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole read a paper, entitled "A review of the published opinions of Sir James Picton, F.S.A., Mr.

Roach Smith, F.S.A., Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., as to the age of the north wall of the City of Chester" (see pp. 71-113).

Mr. I. Matthews Jones then read a few remarks he had written on the subject, and exhibited two lithographed drawings bearing upon the matter; after which, Mr. Alfred Rimmer, Mr. E. W. Cox, and the Hon. General Secretary joined in the discussion, and the usual votes of thanks brought the meeting to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 5th April, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held on the above date at the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Drs. Stolterfoth and Davies Colley, Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. A. Lamont, I. Matthews Jones, I. E. Ewen, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. General Secretary announced that the following books and gifts had been presented to the Society, the receipt of which was acknowledged, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the donors, and the Secretary was directed to communicate the same to them.

Through Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Librarian, Bodleian Library, Oxford. From the University of Oxford: *The Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS.*, *The Catalogue of the Tanner MSS.*, *The Catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS.*, *The Calendar of the Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, the four volume *Catalogue of Printed Books in the Bodleian Library*, and *The Catalogue of the Gough MSS.* there.



The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland presented vol. x. of their Transactions.

The following books ordered by the Librarian were directed to be paid for, viz.: Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (new edition), three vols., £8. 8s. ; Mortimer's *History of the Hundred of Wirral*, £1. 1s. ; Pennant's *Journey to London*, 2s.

The Hon. General Secretary reported that the conveyance from the Society to Lord Derby, of the Derby House property, had now been executed by all the trustees, and that he had an appointment to complete the sale on the following day.

Resolved that the Council hereby places on record its best thanks to the Hon. General Secretary for all the trouble he has taken and the time he has expended in bringing to a satisfactory termination the conveyance of the Derby House property.

Ordered that on receipt of the purchase money of £800 by the Treasurer that that sum—less the solicitors' costs, £32. 4s. 4d., which were ordered to be paid—be paid on deposit to Messrs. Williams and Company, the Society's bankers, at interest until further order.

The Hon. General Secretary read a memorial addressed to the City Corporation demurring to the proposed erection of baths in the Hop Pole Paddock as being detrimental to the walls and to the view of the Cathedral.

Resolved unanimously that such memorial be signed on behalf of the Society by the Lord Bishop, the President, and the Hon. General Secretary, and presented to the Council through Alderman J. P. Cartwright.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,  
Chairman.

April 12th, 1889.

*General Meeting, 5th April, 1889.*

An extra meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Jayne), the President, in the chair.

Present: The Revs. the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., E. Pitcairn Campbell, M.A., Thomas Cox, M.A., Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., F. S. Banner, M.A., F. Sanders, M.A. (Eastham), Dr. Davies Colley, Dr. and Mrs. Stolterfoth, the Sheriff of Chester (Mr. Roger Jackson), Aldermen Charles Brown and J. P. Cartwright, the Misses Howson, Mr. F. W. and Mrs. Sharpe, Mrs. and Miss Taylor, Mr. W. A. Gardner, Mr. Thomas Hignett, Mr. T. H. Hignett, the Misses Fluit, Mrs. H. Taylor, Messrs. Rogerson, E. W. Cox, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., E. Hodgkinson, Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), A. Lamont, I. Matthews Jones, I. E. Ewen, and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

On his taking the chair for the first time his lordship was introduced to the members of the Society by the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, and having made a short address (paying a tribute to his predecessor, Bishop Stubbs, and also to Canon Kingsley), called upon Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry, to read his paper, entitled "The Hundred of Wirral: some account of places and localities interesting to the antiquary, the artist, and the lover of the picturesque."

The paper was illustrated by a hundred limelight views, taken for the lecturer by the Birkenhead Photographic Society, and which were exhibited by Mr. Paul Lange, the president of that Society, assisted by Mr. F. Evans, of Chester.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Hargreaves, on the proposition of his lordship the President, seconded by the Ven. Archdeacon Barber.

The Hon. General Secretary announced the gifts of books made by the University of Oxford and by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (see pp. 229, 230).

On the motion of Dr. Davies Colley, seconded by Alderman Charles Brown, a vote of thanks was accorded to the President for his conduct in the chair, which his lordship duly acknowledged, and a very interesting evening was brought to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 12th April, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held at the Grosvenor Museum on the above date.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A. in the chair; Dr. Stolterfoth, Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. A. Lamont, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Resolved that this Council desires to tender a hearty vote of thanks to the Very Rev. the Dean for the trouble he has kindly taken in promoting the purchase of the Society's Derby House property by the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.

Resolved that Alderman Charles Brown, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., and the Hon. General Secretary be a sub-committee of this Society to confer with the Building Committee of the Museum as to the erection of the archæological portion of the new buildings.

Resolved that this Society offer to advance on mortgage to the Trustees of the Grosvenor Museum the sum of Five Hundred Pounds at 3 per cent per annum out of the proceeds of the Derby House property.

Resolved that the following gentlemen be the representatives of this Society on the Management Committee of the Grosvenor Museum, viz.: Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Mr. I. E. Ewen, Mr. A. Lamont, sen., Mr. E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., Mr. I. Matthews Jones.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER.

May 31st, 1889.

Chairman.

*Council Meeting, 31st May, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held at the Grosvenor Museum on the above date.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; the Revs. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and Henry Grantham, Drs. T. Davies Colley, and H. Stolterfoth, M.A., and Messrs. John Hewitt, I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The draft report of the Council for the general annual meeting of the Society prepared by the Honorary Secretaries was considered, and subject to alterations, adopted and ordered to be printed.

A letter was also read from the Hon. Editorial Secretary asking that the general annual meeting should be held late in June, by which time the *Journal* for the session, 1887-8, would be ready for delivery.

Resolved that the annual general meeting of the Society stand adjourned to Wednesday, the 26th June, at 7-30 p.m.

Resolved that in pursuance of the rule to that effect the following gentlemen be nominated as officers of the Society for the year ending 31st May, 1890, viz.:—Hon.

Editorial Secretary, J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.; Hon. General Secretary, Henry Taylor, F.S.A.; Hon. Assistant Secretary, Harry Beswick; Hon. Curator, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S.; Hon. Librarian, I. E. Ewen; Hon. Treasurer, George Frater.

The Hon. Secretary reported the handsome gift of a complete set of the Historical MSS. Commission Reports, and of the Record Office Reports, relating to the Cheshire and Welsh Records, by Mr. Robert A. Yerburgh, M.P., and that he had conveyed the thanks of Society to Mr. Yerburgh. Several other smaller presents by other gentlemen and Societies were announced. Also that he had been in informal communication with the Trustees of the Grosvenor Museum, but that he had at present nothing to lay before the Council.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,  
Chairman.

July 5th, 1889.

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*Annual General Meeting, 26th June, 1889.*

The annual general meeting of the Society was held, by adjournment, on Wednesday, the 26th day of June, at 7-30 p.m., in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A. (Chairman); the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., Messrs. H. Stolterfoth, M.D., A. Lamont, W. Shone, F.G.S., S. Golder, James Lowe, B.A., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., J. Rowe Dutton, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The Chairman apologised for the absence of his Lordship the President, who was fulfilling an engagement of long standing at Lampeter College.

The minutes of the last annual general meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. General Secretary then read the Annual Report of the Council as follows:—

The Council have again much pleasure in congratulating the members of the Society upon another successful session, during which good progress has been made. The first meeting of the session was held on the evening of *Monday, the 29th October* last, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when his Lordship the Bishop of the diocese, the President of the Society, occupied the chair, and gave an interesting and instructive address; after which the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., read a paper on the Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes of the Parish of St. John, Chester. At the subsequent meetings the following papers were read:—

*Monday, 19th November, 1888.*

On Malpas Church and Parish. By the Hon. and Rev. William Trevor Kenyon, M.A.

On Vale Crucis Abbey, with special reference to recent discoveries. By Mr. H. Harold Hughes, architect, St. Albans, and Mr. S. C. Richardson, F.R.I.B.A., Llangollen.

*Monday, 17th December, 1888.*

Notes on the Registers and Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St. Michael, Chester. By Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

*Monday, 21st January, 1889.*

An Account of the Charters and other MSS. in the British Museum relating to the Monastery of

St. Werburgh, at Chester, now Chester Cathedral.  
By Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., Assistant  
Keeper of MSS., British Museum.

*Monday, 18th February, 1889.*

The Connection of the Civic Officers of Chester  
with the County Families. By Mr. Robert Morris,  
Scarborough.

*Monday, 13th March, 1889.*

A review of the published opinions of Sir  
James Picton, F.S.A., Mr. Charles Roach Smith,  
F.S.A., Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., and Mr.  
W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., as to the age of the  
north wall of the city of Chester. By Mr. G. W.  
Shrubsole, F.G.S.

*Friday, 5th April, 1889.*

An extra meeting of the session was held, when  
Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry, read a paper  
on "The Hundred of Wirral, some account of  
places and localities interesting to the antiquary,  
the artist, and the lover of the picturesque," which  
was illustrated by lime-light lantern exhibitions of  
one hundred views of churches, manor houses, and  
other antiquities in the peninsula taken by the  
Birkenhead Photographic Society.

All these meetings have, as a rule, been well  
attended, and the papers which have been read have  
been of considerable local interest and value.

In January last the Society lost its first President  
since its re-constitution, owing to the Bishop of  
Chester being translated to the see of Oxford.  
Bishop Stubbs took a warm interest in the Society

and did everything he could to advance its interests. In bidding adieu to the Society, his Lordship was good enough to say that on some future occasion he hoped to be able to visit Chester and to be present at a meeting of the Society. The Council have much pleasure in stating that Dr. Jayne, the present Bishop of Chester, on taking up his residence in the city, at once evinced his interest in the Society by occupying the chair as President at the first opportunity, being introduced to the members on the evening of the 5th April.

The Council are glad to inform the members that, by gifts, exchange, and purchase, very considerable and valuable additions have been made to the library; nevertheless they will be glad of any further contributions, as they are anxious to make it, in the course of time, a good reference library for all students of local archæology and history.

It is gratifying to know that since the last annual meeting sixty-six new members have joined the Society. The present number of members is eight honorary, six life and two hundred and fifty-three ordinary members, making a total of two hundred and sixty-seven. The members must, however, bear in mind that the annual subscription is now reduced from one guinea to half a guinea, and that this subscription includes the right to a copy of the annual volume of the Society's transactions, as well as access to the library and museum and admission to the monthly meetings during the session. It is of the greatest importance that the number of members should be made up to at least three hundred and fifty as speedily as possible.

The Council have to report that, in a great measure



through the kind assistance of the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, they have effected the sale of the Society's Derby House property to the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, K.G., for the sum of £800, the amount the Society paid for and expended upon it. The Council are glad to think that their predecessors have been the means of preserving this specimen of the mediæval architecture of the city and preventing it from passing to a stranger, and perhaps also from being conveyed to another country. It is now the property of the head of the family to which it originally belonged, and will doubtless be well preserved and cared for. The Council are in negotiation with the Trustees of the Grosvenor Museum to make them an advance out of the proceeds of the sale to enable them to erect a suitable museum, where the local antiquities of Chester can be exhibited in a manner worthy of their great importance and interest, with a strong room where ancient deeds relating to the neighbourhood, and coins and other ancient valuables may be preserved. The money at present is placed on deposit with the Society's bankers.

A proposal was recently made to the Corporation to erect large public baths with their accompanying machinery and chimney-stack in the Hop-pole Paddock, adjacent to the most ancient part of the city walls and in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. The Council considering that this would be a great detriment to one of the most interesting portions of the city from an antiquarian and historical point of view, not only to the citizens but also to the thousands of strangers who come to visit our unique town, memorialised the Town Council not to allow such a desecration of an ancient and historical site, and they

are happy to say that the Corporation in the most emphatic manner complied with their request.

Recent excavations near to the foundations of the walls in the Hop-pole Paddock have revealed very interesting results. Photographic views of what has been brought to light have been taken by members of the Society.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., the Hon. Editorial Secretary of the Society, has now completed his "History of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester," which the Council suggested he should edit, and he hopes that it will be published about the end of the year.

The Council trusts that the Corporation will ere long have the City Records, now in their custody, properly transcribed, edited, and printed. A full report of the most important of these records was read at the annual meeting in 1887, and will be found in the Society's *Journal* for that year. So many other Corporations have had their old records printed that it is most desirable that the printing of the records of a city so important as Chester should be no longer delayed.

The second volume of the new series of the Society's *Journal*, containing the papers read in the session 1887-8, is now ready for delivery to the members. The third volume, containing the papers read during the last session, will shortly be in the printers' hands.

The Balance Sheet, showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the year 1888, is annexed. Several special expenses have been incurred during the past year, which will not again occur, and the Council confidently hope that, with an

increase of members, the Society's yearly income will more than balance its annual expenditure.

The Council must again refer to the Rules, under which no copy of the Society's *Journal* can be delivered to any Member whose subscription is in arrear.

In pursuance of the rule to that effect, the Council have elected the following officers of the Society for the year ending the 31st May, 1890, viz.:—

<i>Honorary Editorial Secretary</i>	-	J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
<i>Honorary General Secretary</i>	-	HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.
<i>Honorary Assistant Secretary</i>	-	HARRY BESWICK.
<i>Honorary Treasurer</i>	- -	GEORGE FRATER.
<i>Honorary Curator</i>	- -	G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.
<i>Honorary Librarian</i>	- -	I. E. EWEN.

The Council hope during the summer to arrange for an excursion to Malpas and the neighbourhood and to be accompanied by the photographic members of the Society, who will take views of any buildings of archæological, historic, or architectural interest.

Since this Report was drawn up the Council regret to have to announce the deaths of two old members of the Society, Mr. W. Beamont, of Warrington, and the Rev. Canon Eaton, of Chester. Mr. Beamont, who was an enthusiastic antiquary, published many volumes relating to the past history of Lancashire and Cheshire, and contributed several papers to the old series of this Society's *Journal*. Canon Eaton, who was rector of St. Mary's, Chester, for many years, took much interest in the work of the Society, and was one of its oldest members.

In conclusion, the Council congratulate the members upon the valuable and substantial work done during the past session.

The Hon. General Secretary then read the Hon. Treasurer's statement as follows:—

THE CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

**GEORGE FRATER, HON. TREASURER.**

**Dr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1888. Dr.**

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
By Balance in hand from 1887	...	...	33	18	6		
„ Subscriptions and Arrears	...	£144	10	0			
„ Ditto for 1889	...	11	19	6			
				156	9	6	
„ Journals Sold to Members	...	...	...	0	15	0	
„ Derby House Rents	...	...	...	25	4	2	
„ Interest allowed by Bankers	...	...	...	1	5	1	
„ Balance due to Messrs. Williams & Co., Bankers	...	...	...	18	11	5	
							£236 3 8
To Grosvenor Museum Management Committee	...	60	0	0			
„ Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co.	...	2	0	0			
„ Printing <i>Journal</i> , No. 1., N.S.	...	111	4	8			
„ Loan of Blocks of <i>Roman Remains</i>	...	...	10	0	0		
„ Printing and Stationery	...	...	11	17	9		
„ Expenses of Removing the Old Cross from Eaton Road	...	...	...	1	8	8	
„ Library Expenses	...	...	...	9	13	3	
„ Shorthand Reports of Meetings	...	...	...	7	0	0	
„ „Chester Societies”	...	...	...	8	16	0	
„ Commission on Collecting Subscriptions	...	...	...	3	3	0	
„ Postages, Carriage, and Sundry Expenses	...	...	...	7	10	4	
„ Repairs, &c.	...	...	...	3	10	0	
							£236 3 8

**30th April, 1889. Examined and found correct,**

(Signed) H. W. JONES (Auditor).

31st May, 1889. **EDWARD BARBER (Chairman).**  
(Signed)

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Stolterfoth, the Report of the Council and the Hon. Treasurer's statements were adopted and passed.

The following five gentlemen, who retire by rotation, were re-elected members of the Council to retire in May, 1891, in accordance with the rule of the Society to that effect, viz.:—Messrs. E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., Charles Brown, F. Bullin, Dr. Davies Colley, the Rev. Henry Grantham, and Mr. John Hewitt.

Resolved that the number of elected members of the Council be increased (for the future) from ten to twelve, and that the election of these members be by ballot.

Proposed by the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., seconded by Mr. J. Rowe Dutton, and unanimously resolved, that the following lords and gentlemen be appointed on the Council, for the year ending May, 1890, viz.:—

**Patron.**

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

**COUNCIL.**

**President.**

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, D.D.

**Vice-Presidents.**

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD EGERTON OF TATTON.

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF CHESTER

THE SHERIFF OF CHESTER

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHESTER, D.D.

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER, M.A.

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HORATIO LLOYD, *Recorder of Chester.*

HIS HONOUR JUDGE WYNNE FFOULKES, M.A.

MR. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.

MR. FREDERICK POTTS.

} *Ex-Officio.*

**Don. Secretaries.**

*Editorial:* MR. JOHN PARSONS EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

*General:* MR. HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

*Assistant:* MR. HARRY BESWICK.

**Don. Curator.**

MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

**Hon. Librarian.**

MR. I. E. EWEN.

**Hon. Treasurer.**

MR. GEORGE FRATER.

**Elected Members.***To retire in 1890.*

MR. JOHN HEWITT.  
 MR. ISAAC MATTHEWS JONES.  
 MR. ALEXANDER LAMONT.  
 DR. STOLTERFOTH, M.A.  
 REV. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A.

*To retire in 1891.*

MR. E. J. BAILLIE, F.L.S.  
 MR. ALDERMAN CHARLES BROWN.  
 MR. F. BULLIN, J.P.  
 DR. DAVIES-COLLEY, J.P.  
 REV. HENRY GRANTHAM.

Proposed by the Hon. General Secretary, seconded by Dr. Stolterfoth, and unanimously resolved that Messrs. Henry Watson Jones and John Rowe Dutton be the Hon. Auditors of the accounts of the Society.

Proposed by Mr. Stephen Golder, seconded by Mr. William Shone, F.G.S., and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of the members be given to the President and Council for their work during the past year. A suggestion was also made that the Council be asked to consider if printers in Chester should not be invited to tender for the printing of the Society's *Journal*.

The Hon. General Secretary exhibited and described the contents (as far as they related to Chester) of a MS. diary of a Nonconformist minister, the Rev. Peter Walkden, for the years 1733 and 1734, which had been presented to the Society as a diary of Bishop Peploe (see pp. 151-161). He also exhibited some personal ornaments and other antiquities in metal found near Hoylake, which had been presented to the Society by J. Romilly Allen, Esq., of London, and which had been mounted, carefully classified, and ably described in writing by Mr. F. H. Williams, of Chester.

The Hon. Curator also exhibited several recent gifts by Mrs. Hassall Ffoulkes and others to the Society.

The recent additions to the Library, both by purchase and gift, were also exhibited.

Proposed by Mr. J. Rowe Dutton, seconded by Mr. Lamont, and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of this meeting be accorded to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair.

The Chairman having replied, the proceedings were brought to a close.

(Signed)

EDWARD BARBER, *Chairman*.

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*Council Meeting, 5th July, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Friday, the 5th July, 1889.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A. (Chairman); the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. I. E. Ewen, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), H. Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Proposed by Alderman Charles Brown, seconded by Mr. Shrubsole, and unanimously resolved, that this Council hereby express their deep regret at the removal of the Roman Column which stood *in situ* in the north-east corner of the courtyard of Allen Buildings, Bridge Street, and leave further action in the matter in the hands of the Chairman and the Hon. Secretary.

A circular letter was read from the Hon. H. A. Dillon, Hon. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, giving the result of the recent conference of Archæological Societies in London, and inviting the Society to join the proposed Union.

Resolved, that this Society be registered as a "Society in Union" with the Society of Antiquaries, London.

The Hon. Librarian was directed to purchase the following:—*Constitutional History of England*, by Bishop Stubbs, three vols., price 22s.; *Primitive Folk Moots*, by Mr. G. L. Gomme, one vol., price 3s. 6d.

The Hon. General Secretary read a correspondence with the Hon. Secretary of the Grosvenor Museum, relating to the proposed loan of five hundred pounds to the Trustees of the Grosvenor Museum.

Resolved that this Society is prepared to advance the sum of five hundred pounds out of the proceeds of the sale of the Society's Derby House property, on loan, at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, to the Management Committee of the Grosvenor Museum, to enable them to erect the new Archæological Museum, the repayment to be secured by the personal guaranty of individual members of such committee, whose names shall be submitted to and approved of by this Council.

Resolved that Messrs. Lamont, Frater, Beswick, and Taylor be a sub-committee to consider and arrange an excursion.

(Signed) T. DAVIES COLLEY,  
Chairman.

27th September, 1889.

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*Council Meeting, 27th September, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Friday, the 27th September, 1889.

Present: Dr. Davies Colley, in the chair; the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., the Rev. H. Grantham, Dr. Stolterfoth, J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S.,



I. E. Ewen, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

A letter apologising for non-attendance from Rev. S. C. Scott was read.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The question of printing vol. iii., N.S., of the Society's *Journal*, was discussed. Mr. Shrubsole offered to illustrate certain papers at his own expense.

Resolved that the following Chester printers be invited to tender for the printing and binding of three hundred and fifty copies of a volume of the Society's *Journal*, similar to volume ii., viz.: Messrs. Phillipson and Golder, Mr. Giles R. Griffith, the *Chester Courant* Office, and the *Chester Chronicle* Office.

The programme for the ensuing session was discussed.

Archdeacon Barber promised to write to Professor G. F. Browne, for a paper on the Runic Stone recently found at Upton, near Birkenhead; and it was also arranged that Dr. Bridge's paper on "Chester Minstrels," and the Rev. F. Sanders' paper should be taken before Christmas, and that the Council should then meet to settle the programme for the remainder of the session. On the motion of Dr. Stolterfoth, it was resolved that Professor Hübner's paper should be taken the first after Christmas.

Resolved that the sub-committee be called together to consider their position with regard to the "Excavation Account" (see the Society's *Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 212-14).

Mr. Ewen announced recent additions to the Library by purchase and exchange, and he was authorised to complete the *Shropshire Word-book*.

(Signed) JOHN L. DARBY,

October 29th, 1889.

Chairman.

*Council Meeting, 29th October, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday evening, the 29th October, 1889, at 7-15.

Present: The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester (Chairman); the Ven. Archdeacon of Chester, Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), Mr. I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), Mr. I. Matthews Jones, Mr. John Hewitt, and Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Secretary laid before the meeting the tenders he had received for the printing of three hundred and fifty copies of the Society's *Journal*, as follows: Messrs. Phillipson and Golder, for 16 pp. demy octavo, on a 24lb. paper, in long primer, brevier, or small pica type, £5; Mr. G. R. Griffith, per sheet of 16 pp., small pica, £3. 1s., extra for long primer 6d. per page, and for brevier 2s. per page; the Manchester Press Company Limited, superfine paper and printing, demy octavo, vol. iii. *Papers and Proceedings*, per sheet of 16 pp., £2. 11s.

Resolved that the last-named tender be accepted.

Letter read from Mr. E. J. Baillie, F.L.S. (Hon. Secretary of the Grosvenor Museum), asking for the use of the west wall of the archæological museum room, in which to hang some portraits, pictures from Professor Herkomer's school, for a week or two.

Resolved that the same be granted.

(Signed) HENRY STOLTERFOTH,  
18th November, 1889.

*Chairman.*

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*General Meeting, 29th October, 1889.*

The first meeting of the session 1889-90 was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum on the evening of Tuesday, the 29th October, 1889, at eight o'clock.

Present: The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, in the chair; The Ven. The Archdeacon of Chester, the Revs. Canons Cooper, M.A., and Atkinson, M.A., the Revs. F. Sanders, M.A., Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., and Father Wilfrid Dallow, Aldermen Charles Brown, and J. P. Cartwright, Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), Messrs. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), Osmand W. Jeffs, F.G.S. (Liverpool), W. Gregg, Paul Price, W. E. Brown, J. G. Holmes, I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), J. Phillipson, Geo. Rogerson, J. Edwards, E. W. Cox, G. R. Griffith, Mrs. and Miss Griffith, Dr. and Mrs. Haining, the Misses Howson, Miss Fluitt, Miss Marsden, Mrs. Stolterfoth, Mrs. McEwen, Mrs. A. McEwen, Miss Cartwright, Mr. and Mrs. Walmesley Price, and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The following candidates were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: Mrs. M. E. Sandford, the Queen's School, Chester; Mr. Hubert Potts, solicitor, Chester; the Rev. Father Dallow, Upton, near Birkenhead; Mr. Arthur Blayney, Bridge Street Row, Chester; Mr. W. C. Ashby Pritt (Hon. Curator of the Liverpool Historic Society).

The following gifts to the Society were announced, the receipt of which were acknowledged with thanks, and a vote to that effect was accorded to the donors, viz.: By Thomas Webster, Esq., Leasowe Bank, Upton, near Birkenhead. A cast of the Overchurch Runic Stone in his possession, recently discovered, and bearing an inscription the translation of which is rendered "The people erected a Memorial, pray for Æthelmund."

By Miss Georgina Jackson, Black Friars, Chester: Two old English samplers, by Jane and Mary Adams, of Chester, 1714-1718; *Adams' Genealogy*; *Shropshire Word-book*, part 3; *Early English Pronunciation*, by the Early English Text Society; *Glossary of Words of Manley and Corringham, co. Lincoln*, by Edward Peacock, F.S.A.

The Ven. Archdeacon Barber then read a paper by the Rev. George Forrest Browne, B.D., Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge University, entitled "On a Runic Inscription recently found at Overchurch, Upton, near Birkenhead" (see pp. 178-184), and exhibited the cast of the stone bearing the inscription.

After which, the Rev. Father Wilfrid Dallow, of Upton, who first discovered the inscription, read a paper giving the details of the discovery, and local information bearing upon the subject (see pp. 185-191).

In addition to the cast of the stone, rubbings and sketches of the inscription, &c., and photographs of the stone were exhibited.

Mr. E. W. Cox exhibited a drawing showing a suggestion as to what the tracery work at the top of the stone originally was, and made observations as to the runic stones at West Kirby.

The Hon. General Secretary remarked that although runic crosses and stones bearing tracery work had been found at West Kirby and other parts of Wirral, this was the first runic inscription that was known to have been found in Cheshire, and the Society was indebted to Professor Browne and Father Dallow for the valuable information they had given. It was thirty-five years ago since a paper on runic remains was read before the Society, and that was on the subject of such remains found in the Isle of Man. He exhibited photographs of the West Kirby stones and Mr. Ecroyd Smith's book and drawings

of them, forwarded by their fellow-member, Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry.

The Rev. F. Sanders referred to the runic stones at Bromborough, and Mr. O. W. Jeffs, F.G.S., asked for information as to the geological character of the stone, about which there appeared to be some uncertainty. The Very Rev. the Chairman thought it was of millstone grit, but Father Dallow was of opinion that it was of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood. Mr. Jeffs thought this might have a bearing as to whether or not the subject of the memorial was a local man or a foreigner.

On the motion of Canon Cooper, seconded by Alderman Charles Brown, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Professor Browne and to the Rev. Father Dallow for their valuable papers.

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*Council Meeting, 18th November, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday evening, the 18th November, 1889.

Present: Dr. Stolterfoth, in the chair; the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Chester, Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), Mr. I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), Mr. Geo. Frater (Hon. Treasurer), the Rev. H. Grantham, Messrs. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), Alex. Lamont, Henry Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary), I. Matthews Jones, and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Stolterfoth suggested the re-arrangement and cataloguing of the exhibits in the Museum.

Resolved that the subject remain over until the new Archæological Museum is erected.

The Hon. Curator informed the Committee that he had an offer of a South Kensington case for the exhibits.

Resolved that such offer be accepted.

The Hon. Treasurer submitted accounts amounting to £11. 4s. 9d., which were ordered to be paid.

The Hon. Treasurer stated that the Society had expended on various purchases for the Library, by the direction of the Council, the sum of £84. 2s. 4d. since 1883, and suggested that it should be met by a payment out of the deposit account at the bank, the purchases having been paid out of the current account at the bank.

It was resolved that a special meeting of the Council be called for Saturday, the 23rd of November instant, at 5-40 p.m., to consider the question.

(Signed) HORATIO LLOYD,

*Chairman.*

23rd November, 1889.

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*General Meeting, 18th November, 1889.*

The second meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, on the evening of Monday, the 18th November, 1889.

Present: The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, in the chair; the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., the Revs. Canon Fielden, M.A., H. Grantham, Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., Minor Canon Lowndes, M.A., His Honour Judge W. Wynne Ffoulkes, M.A., Major Taylor, the Rev. Father Dallow, Dr. and Mrs. Haining, Messrs. F. Potts, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), G. W. Gardner, the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., Dr. King, Mr. George

Dickson, J.P., and Mrs. Dickson, Mr. and Mrs. George Dutton, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming (Rowton), Mr. and Mrs. Rowe Dutton, Alderman Charles Dutton, J.P., and Mrs. Dutton, The Misses Wilbraham and Miss Barrow, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, Miss Eggers, Mrs. and Miss Taylor, Mrs. Hignett, Mrs. H. Taylor, the Misses Fluitt, the Misses Howson, Messrs. P. H. Fletcher, J. Phillipson, S. Golder, J. G. Holmes, the Rev. J. L. Bedford, M.A., and Mrs. Bedford, Mr. Lucas, F.G.S., Mr. R. and Mrs. Hilton, Messrs. G. H. Hodgkinson, A. Lamont, H. Beswick (Hon. Assistant Secretary), and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), &c., &c.

The following were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.:—The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Hawarden Castle; Mr. H. J. Noyes, 1, Cheyney Villas, Cheyney Road, Chester; Mr. W. M. Boden, architect, Saughton, Chester; Mr. James Jones, Stoneleigh, Rosset; Mr. J. Oswell Bury, 9, Temple Row, Wrexham; Mr. Robert Griffith, 7, Bold Square, Chester; Mr. A. Seymour Jones, 20, Grosvenor Road, Wrexham; Mr. G. W. Haswell, 7, Bouverie Street, Chester; Mrs. J. R. Dutton, 6, Stanley Place, Chester; the Rev. E. Dwyer Green, M.A., Bromborough; Mr. Roger Bass, Newton House, Chester.

The following gifts to the Society were announced, the receipt of which were acknowledged, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the donors, viz.:—

By Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary of the Society), the author. *The History of East Cheshire*, two vols.

By Miss Georgina Jackson, Black Friars, Chester. The third, tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth Presidential addresses of the Philological Society; *On the delineation of the English and Welsh Languages*; Report 1886-7 on Dialect Work; Key to Map of English and Lowland Dialect; *Dialects of*

*Eleven Southern and South-western Counties*, by Prince Lucien Bonaparte; *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hibbaldston and Records of the Manor of Bottesford*, by E. Peacock, F.S.A.

By Dr. Fraser, of Dublin, per Mr. J. Rowe Dutton. A photograph of the alleged monument of Strongbow, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and his son, as it was placed originally under the north wall of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. It was removed to the south side by Mr. Street in his restoration of the Cathedral.

Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), exhibited a rather early and somewhat important Chester deed. It was undated, but from the fact that the three first witnesses to it were "Hugh de Brichull, now Mayor of Chester, and Nicholas Payn and Roger Dunfoul, now Sheriffs of Chester," it was of the year 1292, as it was in that year that these gentlemen filled those municipal offices. The deed was a quit claim in respect of a piece of land which is described as being situate in "le Cowlone, near to Foregatestrete." This was the name of Frodsham Street until recent years. The earliest record hitherto known of this name was of the date of Edward III. The name is still perpetuated in the bridge over the canal between Frodsham Street and Brook Street, called Cowlane Bridge. The deed also discovered the names of the two earliest known Chester goldsmiths, for it was made between "Nicholas called the goldsmith, the son of Matthew the goldsmith, formerly a citizen of Chester," of the one part, and "William de Doncaster, citizen of Chester," of the other part. The latter was the well-known Chester merchant of the time of Edward I.

J. C. Bridge, Esq., M.A., Mus.Doc., then delivered a most interesting and entertaining lecture, entitled "Chester Minstrels, including an account of the Chester Musical



Festivals of one hundred years ago." The paper was illustrated by performances on an ancient musical instrument called the "Recorder," belonging to the Society—which Dr. Bridge described as being a very rare and valuable piece of property,—and by old part and catch songs. The Recorder, or rather set of Recorders, were played upon and the songs sung by gentlemen trained by Dr. Bridge. Illustrations of old musical instruments, ancient music, and celebrated musicians associated with Chester, were given by lantern exhibitions. The room was crowded to excess, the interest was kept up from the beginning to the end, and the lecture gave immense satisfaction. Time not permitting Dr. Bridge to give an account of the Musical Festivals, this was reserved for another meeting.

The following is a short summary of Dr. Bridge's lecture. After dealing with the general history of minstrelsy, and describing the bards, gleemen, and minstrels, the oldest piece of music, now known, dating back to *c.* 1250, was sung by six performers. This, which is called "a six men round," was entitled "Summer is icumen in." He then proceeded with an account of the Chester Minstrels, and described why they were always exempted from the charters and Acts of Parliament relating to musicians generally. The explanation involved a very important and unique chapter in local history. In the year 1212 Earl Blunderville was engaged as usual fighting with the Welsh, and by some mischance or other he was surrounded in his castle at Rhuddlan, in Flintshire. At that time a fair was held at Chester, to which a former Earl of Chester, Hugh Lupus, had granted a special charter, under which certain criminals attending the fair were free from arrest for crimes committed previous to the fair. The fair was full of idlers, strollers, players, worthless vagabonds,

and criminals. While it was at its height, a message arrived from the besieged earl at Rhuddlan, and—he would not say an army, but a huge *posse* of these persons at the fair was collected and under Roger de Lacy was sent to the aid of the earl. The Welsh raised the siege with the utmost precipitation. Lacy was granted full authority and control over all shoemakers, minstrels, &c., as a reward. He was succeeded by his son John, who transferred it to Hugh de Dutton, his steward. Dutton was related by marriage to John de Lacy, and this was perhaps the reason why the grant was made to him. In 1498 a warrant was issued against one of the Duttons to show cause why he called the minstrels to meet in Chester on the feast of St. John the Baptist and granted them licences. He pleaded prescription; that was to say, he claimed to have a prescriptive right to do so, and that explanation was accepted as law. In the reign of Elizabeth, and down to the Georges, this ancient right of the Duttons was recognised. Dr. Bridge then gave an interesting account of the proceedings on the feast of John the Baptist, when the licences to minstrels were granted at Chester. In 1754 twenty-one licences were granted, and in 1756 the last court was held, having exercised its peculiar functions for five hundred years. The power was held by a private family from the reign of King John down to the time of the Georges, and he (Dr. Bridge) doubted whether any other place could boast a more unique right and a longer exercised right than that.

Next, dealing with the musical instruments of the past, he called attention to a very valuable property belonging to the Chester Archæological Society. This consisted of a set of old recorders (flutes) in a remarkable state of preservation, which had been found in an old box by Mr. I. E. Ewen. There was a treble flute, what he might call

an alto flute, a tenor flute, and a bass flute. He congratulated the Chester Archæological Society on possessing such a very great rarity, and did not believe if they searched throughout the length and breadth of England that they could find such another set of flutes.

Here Mr. Needham, the Rev. J. L. Bedford, Mr. Millward, and Mr. Myatt played on the recorders "Cheshire Rounds," of ancient date, and a piece specially written by Dr. Bridge. They did their work well, and though the effect was not always pleasing, there was a quaintness and a softness of tone about the ancient instruments, which was really enjoyable as well as interesting. Messrs. Needham and Millward next played the "Blue Bells of Scotland," and performed their task so well that it was warmly encored. At this point also Dr. Bridge called attention to an old flute which belonged to the father of Mr. Edwards, the bookseller, of Foregate Street. It was more modern than the recorders, though it was similarly made. In kindly sending him the flute Mr. Edwards said he was afraid nothing could be got out of the instrument but amusement. He was, however, going to ask Mr. Needham to play a few bars upon it. Mr. Needham thereupon played "Home, sweet home" capitally on the antiquated flute. Dr. Bridge then exhibited a rare and beautiful instrument belonging to Mr. Fleming, of Rowton Grange, namely, a keyed mandolin.

After a few words on more modern instruments, Dr. Bridge dealt with some musical celebrities who had been associated with Chester. Of one of these, William Lawes, Burney (a great writer on musical matters) said, "His compositions are not worth listening to." As a set-off against this opinion, he would ask the party present that night to sing one of Lawes' psalms. (The psalm had a nice movement, and was in parts very sweet; it was well

sung by the gentlemen already named, assisted by three choristers.) Another well-known name connected with Chester was the Hon. Daines Barrington. The next celebrity alluded to was Dr. Burney, who was at the King's School, and next to him Sir John Hawkins. Both these men published a history of music about the same time, and each accused the other of borrowing the idea. Each had his partisans, and the dispute waxed strong, until a catch entitled "Have you read Sir John Hawkins' history?" became quite popular. (This, a capital catch, was well sung by the musical party present.) Allusion was next made to Dr. Arne's passing through Chester, and to the visit to the city of George Frederick Handel, the immortal composer of the *Messiah* and many other important works.

Dr. Burney was in Chester when Handel passed through in 1741, and has given some account of that visit. Handel was engaged on a great work, and wished to have portions of it tried in his presence. That work was the *Messiah*, which was written in twenty-four days, and it was in Chester that Handel first heard his great work rehearsed. He got together a number of persons from the cathedral choir who could sing at sight, and in a building standing on the site of the present Northgate Brewery, the rehearsal took place. During the rehearsal, Handel was dissatisfied with the performance of one of the singers, and finally lost his temper, uttered an oath or two, and said to the offender, "Didn't you tell me you could sing at sight?" The answer came promptly, "Yes, I did, but not at first sight." After this rehearsal Handel continued his journey to Ireland, and it was in Dublin that the *Messiah* was first publicly performed. At this point the last page of the "Amen Chorus" from the *Messiah*, photographed from a *fac simile* of the manuscript in the library of Her Majesty the Queen, with the great composer's own signature, was thrown on to the

canvas, and it was beyond doubt one of the most interesting features of this most interesting lecture, which Dr. Bridge concluded (after an allusion to Edward Orme, a former organist at the cathedral) by stating that on another evening he hoped to deal with the old Chester festivals.

On the motion of the Chairman, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer, who briefly replied, and one of the most successful meetings recorded in the annals of the Society was brought to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 23rd November, 1889.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Saturday afternoon the 23rd November, 1889.

Present: His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, in the chair; the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., the Revs. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and H. Grantham, His Honour Judge W. Wynne Ffoulkes, M.A., Messrs. H. Stolterfoth, M.D., J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), E. J. Baillie, A. Lamont, I. Matthews Jones, H. Beswick, and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.: G. Catherall Audsley, 3, Eastern Pathway, Queen's Park, Chester; Joseph C. Bridge, M.A., Mus.Doc., The Northgate, Chester; J. J. Hughes, 21, Whitefriars, Chester; George Dutton, Curzon Park, Chester; Thomas Webster, Leasowe Bank, Birkenhead.

Resolved that the sum of £700 be offered by this Council to the Museum Management Committee, on condition that two rooms as shown on Mr. Lockwood's plan (which was produced by a member of the Council not an

officer of the Society), numbered  $\frac{141}{9887}$ , be completed for sole and perpetual occupation of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society; and the balance of the deposit account be transferred to the current account.

His Honour Judge Wynne Ffoukes pointed out that this resolution must be subject to its being found, on enquiry, that this proposal could be legally carried out, and this was understood.

Resolved that in future the *Journal* of the Society be published biennially.

Mr. Earwaker (Hon. Editorial Secretary) pointed out that as the rules provided that the *Journal* be an annual one, this resolution was *ultra vires* until the rules were altered.

Resolved that the papers at present in hand be printed, but that no further printing of the *Journal* be proceeded with without further direction from the Council.

Mr. Taylor (Hon. General Secretary) stated that the Council had accepted the estimate of the Manchester Press Company Limited, for the printing of vol. iii. of the *Journal*, and that the contract was complete.

(Signed) HORATIO LLOYD,  
Chairman.

20th January, 1890.

*General Meeting, 23rd December, 1889.*

The third monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair.

Present: The Revs. C. L. Feltoe, M.A., and Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., Dr. Stolterfoth, Mrs. McEwen, Miss Marsden, Messrs. J. G. Holmes, A. Lamont, John Hargreaves (Rock Ferry), Robert Morris (Scarborough), J.

Edwards, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Brown, and Mr. H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The following gentlemen were proposed, seconded, and duly elected members of the Society, viz.:—Mr. Alfred Gill, Town Clerk, Birkenhead, and Mr. J. Brooks, Hough Green, Chester.

The Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., Eastham, exhibited photographs of an inscription on the external wall under the east window of Eastham Church, and then read a very able paper, entitled "The Life and Times of Thomas Cartwright, D.D., Bishop of Chester, 1686-1689."<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman regretted that other attractions in the city caused so small an attendance, and made a few remarks upon the subject of the paper, in which he was followed by the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, and Mr. Robert Morris. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Sanders for his paper, to which he replied.

The Hon. Secretary, in the course of his remarks, said that he thought the paper, together with the Bishop's very curious will, would be well worth printing in the Society's *Journal*.<sup>1</sup>

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*Council Meeting, 20th January, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, 20th January, 1890, at twelve o'clock noon.

Present: His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, in the chair; the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., Rev. S. C. Scott, M.A., F. Potts, Esq., Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. Lamont, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Dr. Stolter-

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<sup>1</sup> Owing, however, to the present volume being so full, this paper will be printed in vol. iv. of the Society's *Journal*.

foth, Judge Wynne Ffoulkes, M.A., Messrs. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and H. Beswick (Hon. Secretaries).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following member was proposed and elected:—Mr. Alfred Charles Baugh, C.E., &c., Cambrian View, Chester.

The opinion of his Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, addressed to the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, (with which Judge Wynne Ffoulkes entirely concurred,) was read as follows:—

CHESTER, *December 14th*, 1889.

My dear Dean,—I have taken a little time to look carefully into the provisions of the two deeds you sent me, and I have (I may say very reluctantly) come to the conclusion that the resolution passed at the recent meeting of the Archæological Society is *ultra vires*, and that we have not the power to dispose of (I avoid the use of the word give) the £700 in the manner proposed.

By the deed of 1868 the Stanley House property became vested in the Trustees upon trust for the Archæological Society, “to permit and suffer the property to be used, occupied, and employed, from time to time and at all times, in such manner and for such purposes, and by such powers as the Council or governing body for the time being of the Society shall order and direct;” such direction being signified by a resolution passed by the Society in manner therein defined.

Then follows a power of sale, and then a declaration “that the money to be received by means of any such . . . sale . . . shall be paid to the Treasurer for the time being of the Society, and that such monies shall be applied and disposed of as the said Council or governing body of the Society for the time being, or a majority of them, shall think fit.”

It seems to me that these words must be interpreted and controlled by the nature and object of the trust, which is to preserve the property—whether Stanley House or money—



for the use and enjoyment, from time to time and at all times, of the Archæological Society. The Trustees must retain the trust estate. If they do not, they put an end to the trust, which they have no power to do.

The proposal is to transfer the £700 to the Museum Committee, in order that they may devote this sum to the provision and maintenance of a home for the Archæological Society in the Museum; and it is suggested that this is not "giving away" the property to some one else, but that, as the Archæological Society is now part of the Museum, the £700 would be used for the purposes of the Archæological Society as a part of the Museum. I am afraid that this view cannot legally be supported. The Management Committee of the Museum is a distinct and independent body, created by the trust deed of 1886; in them the whole of the Museum premises then erected and "to be erected" are vested, the whole being under the control of that Committee; and they have the power from time to time to make such regulations as they may think proper for the management and user of the Schools, Museum, and other buildings.

Under these circumstances the Archæological Society and its Trustees could have no property or exclusive interest in any portion of the building. Their property would be gone and the trust in their deed of 1868 at an end.

It seems to me to be the duty of the Archæological Society's Trustees to maintain their trust estate consistently with the object and purpose for which it was created, and to retain throughout, whatever they do with the property or its proceeds, the same legal rights that were originally given to them by the deed. If they hand over this money to the Museum Committee, they cannot legally follow it, so to speak. It would become merged in the general scheme of the Museum, and would thereafter belong to the Museum Committee, a body having a distinctly separate legal existence, although the Archæological Society is represented upon it.

I think, therefore, that our powers as Trustees of the Archæological Society are not so wide as the mere words of the deed would lead one at first to suppose.

We can do anything with the trust estate which is consistent with the maintenance of it, and we should be able, of course, to exercise all the usual powers of trustees under such circumstances ; but, in my opinion, we cannot "dispose of" the property in such a way as would deprive us of all power over it, and transfer it to another body.

I regret much that I cannot, on consideration, take any other view. Practically, I think that we should, by taking the course we wish, secure all the advantages which we could possibly get in any other way, and probably more ; but I fear that it cannot be done without risk of a breach of trust.

Yours very truly,

HORATIO LLOYD.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester.

Resolved that the resolution passed at the last meeting of this Council with reference to the disposal of the sum of £700 be rescinded.

Resolved that this Council expresses its regret at being unable legally to carry out its resolution to give the £700 as proposed at the previous meeting of the Council on November 23rd, 1889, and that it can make no better offer than to lend £500 on mortgage at two and a half per cent, and on the condition that the basement scheme be carried out according to the plan submitted at the last meeting of the Council.

Resolved that the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Council on November 23rd, 1889, *re* the Society's *Journal*, being deemed *ultra vires*, be rescinded, and that in future a sum not exceeding £75 be expended upon its production in any one year.

Resolved that the programme for the remainder of the session be left to the Hon. General Secretary

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

February 24th, 1890.

Chairman.

*Council Meeting, 24th February, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, the 24th February, 1890.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. Charles Brown, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), I. M. Jones, and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following letter from the Management Committee was read:—

CHESTER, 5th February, 1890.

To the Hon. Sec. The Chester Archæological and Historic Society, Dear sir,—We duly received your letter of the 31st ult., and in reply beg to say we have had to reconsider the whole question of building extension.

We resolved at the meeting of the Management Committee, held on Monday last, that we will concentrate our energies entirely upon the collection of funds towards the proposed extension, and that we will not further entertain the contractor's estimates until we have succeeded in raising a sum sufficient to warrant the belief that we shall be able to complete the buildings without the necessity of running into debt. This being so, we do not propose to avail ourselves of your offer of a loan upon the terms indicated in your letter, but we should be glad if your Society would nominate a representative to join the Finance Committee, as we purpose taking the matter up actively during the next few months, with the view and hope of our insuring the payment or promise of subscriptions sufficient to enable us to complete the building in its entirety.

Yours faithfully,

*p. pro* the Management Committee,

EDM. J. BAILLIE,

*Hon. Sec.*

Resolved that in accordance with the request contained in the above letter the Venerable Archdeacon Barber be the representative of this Society upon the Finance Committee of the Grosvenor Museum.

Resolved that the sum of £700, now on deposit with the Society's bankers, be invested in such names and in such manner as the Venerable Archdeacon Barber, His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, and the Hon. General Secretary may determine for the use of the Society.

Resolved that the following bills be paid:—

Miss Pullan, printing, &c.	-	-	£6	14	3	
Mr. G. R. Griffith	-	-	-	1	3	0
Mr. Harrison, for case	-	-	-	1	3	0

A letter was read from Mr. R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., Hon. Secretary of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, offering the translation of some fifty early deeds relating to Chester and forming part of the Moore collection, and which translations formed part of a paper read before his Society.

Resolved that this Society, while recognising the benefit to be derived by harmonious co-operation on the part of local societies, particularly of those whose sphere of usefulness is in neighbouring districts, nevertheless does not see its way to print in its *Journal* papers which have not in the first instance been read before it.

Resolved that Professor Hübner's paper be read at the next meeting, and that Dr. Bridge's additional paper be read at an extra meeting of the session.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

March 24th, 1890.

Chairman.

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*Monthly Meeting, 24th February, 1890.*

The fourth monthly meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock. The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A. (in the absence of his Lordship the Bishop, the President, who was detained at Birtles), in the chair.

Present: The Revs. Canon Blencowe, M.A., C. L. Feltoe, M.A., Pitcairn Campbell, M.A., and Banner, M.A., Captain Massie Taylor, J.P., the Rev. Father Dallow, Dr. Stolterfoth, Alderman Charles Dutton, J.P., Alderman Charles Brown, Dr. John Elliott, Messrs. A. Rimmer, I. E. Ewen, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., C. P. Douglas, T. S. Gleadowe, M.A., Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Miss Marsden, Mrs. Pitcairn Campbell, Mrs. T. Hignett, Messrs. Thorne, J. B. Taylor, T. Griffiths, T. Shephard, F.L.S., Mrs. Bullin, Miss Prichard, Mr. H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

Dr. John Elliot was proposed, seconded, and duly elected a member of the Society.

The following gifts to the Society were announced, the receipt of which were acknowledged, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the donors, viz.:—

By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A (the author): *Notes on Book-plates; Cheshire and Lancashire Funeral Certificates, 1600 to 1678; A List of persons who were disclaimed as gentlemen of Coat Armour by the Heralds, &c.; Rylands of the Rylands of West Houghton, co. Lancaster; Shields of Arms formerly in the windows of the Parish church of Lymm; Twenebrokes, or Twanbrook of Appleton, Grappenhall, and Daresbury, co. Chester; the Armorial Bearings existing in the churches of Prescott, Wigan, and Liverpool, in the year MDXC.*

By R. D. Radcliffe, Esq., M.A. (Hon. Secretary): *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and*

*Cheshire*, vols. v., vii., xxviii., and xxxvi. (1884), to complete the Society's set to 1887 inclusive.

By G. C. Yates, Esq., F.S.A. (Hon. Secretary): *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1885 and 1886.

By J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A. (Scot.), (Hon. Secretary): *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Nos. 24 and 25, vol. vii.

By the Powys Land Club: *Collections, Historical and Archæological, relating to Montgomeryshire*, vol. xxiii., pt. 1.

By J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A., (the author): *The Church Plate of the county of Dorset*.

By the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland: No. 80, vol. ix., fourth series of their *Journal*.

Exchanged: *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, vols. ii. and iii.

Mr. John Hargreaves then gave an address entitled, "The Hundred of Wirral; some account of places and events interesting to the antiquary, the artist, and the lover of the picturesque." The paper was an extension of a similar paper read last session, and was illustrated by some two hundred lime-light photographs of views recently taken by Mr. Paul Lange, President of the Liverpool Photographic Society, and other members of the Birkenhead Photographic Society.

The Chairman, in conveying to Mr. Hargreaves the thanks of the Society for his lecture, as also to Mr. Lange and to Mr. F. Evans, who manipulated the lantern, expressed his lordship the Bishop's regret at being unable to reach Chester in time to take the chair.

The meeting was well attended, and the lime-light views were much appreciated.

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*Council Meeting, 24th March, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, the 24th March, 1890.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, in the chair; Messrs. A. Lamont, I. M. Jones, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Proposed by Mr. Lamont, seconded by Mr. I. M. Jones, and unanimously resolved that the £700 be invested in Turkish Guaranteed 1855 Four per Cent. Stock, in the names of Mr. Henry Taylor, his Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, and the Ven. Archdeacon Edward Barber.

Resolved that the remaining portion of Dr. Bridge's paper, on "Chester Minstrels," be taken on Thursday, the 10th April next.

(Signed)      EDWARD BARBER,  
April 10th, 1890.      *Chairman.*

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*General Meeting, 24th March, 1890.*

The fifth meeting of the session was held on the above date, in the museum room of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair.

Present: The Rev. F. S. Banner, M.A., Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A. (Lancing College, Sussex), Misses Howson and Marsden, Mrs. McEwen, Dr. and Miss Elliott, Messrs. A. Lamont, Robert Griffiths, J. Edwards, H. B. Dutton, Mr. and Mrs. Enock, Miss Roberts, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The Rev. F. S. Banner exhibited a Roman gold coin (an

aureus), bearing an inscription of the Emperor Nero, in very good preservation, found at Dunham-o'-th'-Hill.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), then read extracts from a paper by Professor Hübner, of Berlin, on the "Roman Inscriptions of Deva" (see pp. 120-150), but more especially on those on the stones found in the north wall of the city. Each stone as it was referred to in the paper was pointed out. He afterwards read a communication from M. Mowat, of Paris, on the stone bearing an inscription to the memory of M. Aurelius Alexander, found in the north wall (see pp. 114-119). This paper mentioned the fact that there was a stone in Rome, now *in situ* there, bearing an inscription showing that this same M. Aurelius Alexander intended to have been buried there, but being called with the Twentieth Legion to Britain, died and was buried at Deva.

The Chairman and Mr. Haverfield having made a few remarks, the latter proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Hübner for his valuable paper, which was seconded by Mr. H. Taylor, the Hon. General Secretary of the Society, and an instructive evening was brought to a close.

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*Council Meeting, 10th April, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Thursday, the 10th April, 1890.

Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, M.A., in the chair; Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. I. E. Ewen and H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

There not being a quorum present, the meeting was ordered to be adjourned to Tuesday, the 22nd April, at 5-30 o'clock.



*General Meeting, 10th April, 1890.*

The sixth meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at eight o'clock, the Very Rev. The Dean of Chester, D.D., in the chair.

The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, M.A., the Revs. E. A. P. Campbell, M.A., Wycliffe Vaughan, M.A., and Minor Canon Lowndes, M.A., Drs. Elliott and Stolterfoth, Aldermen Charles Dutton, J.P., Charles Brown, and J. P. Cartwright, Mrs. McEwen, Dobie, Bullen, Haining, Dimond-Hogg, H. Taylor, C. Dutton, the Misses Wilbraham, Howson, Fluitt, Roberts, Taylor, Marsden, and Payne, Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner, Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Griffith, Messrs. C. P. Douglas, M. Johnson, J. R. Thomson, George Prichard, J. Phillipson, Thomas Shephard, F.R.M.S., J. Wakefield, Thomas Monk, I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), H. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary), &c., &c.

Mr. Martin Stewart, of Edgar House, Chester, was proposed, seconded, and duly elected a member of the Society.

The following gifts to the Society were announced, the receipt of which were acknowledged, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the donors, viz.:—

By Miss Ffoulkes, 9, Bunce Street: *Lodge's Portraits*, vols. i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi., vii., and viii.

By T. Harrison Myers, F.R.I.B.A. (the author): *Symbols and Emblems in our Churches*.

By Henry Littlehales (the author): *A Layman's Prayer Book in English*, about A.D. 1400.

By the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland: *The Society's Journal*, 1888-9.

By the Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland: *The Society's Journal*, vol. ix., No. 81. Fourth series.

By Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.: *Roman Antiquities*.

By Mr. G. H. Rogerson, The Friars: *Transactions of the Shropshire Archæological Society*, vol. i., and part i. vol. ii.

By the Montgomeryshire Historic and Archæological Society: *The Journal of the Society*, vol. xxiv.

Mr. J. C. Bridge, M.A., Mus.Doc., then delivered the remaining portion of his paper on "Chester Minstrels," which related to the Chester Musical Festivals from 178- to 1829.

There was a very large attendance and Dr. Bridge's lecture, which occupied some two hours in delivering, was listened to with great attention. Dr. Bridge illustrated his lecture with selections on the pianoforte and with lantern views.<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Bridge for his very able and interesting lecture, and a very pleasant evening was spent, which brought to an end the session of 1889-90.

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*Council Meeting, 22nd April, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, the 22nd April, 1890.

Present: His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd (chairman); the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., Alderman Charles Brown, Messrs. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. (Hon. Editorial Secretary), A. Lamont, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), I. M. Jones, and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bridge not having had time to write out the notes of his lecture so as to appear in this volume, it is hoped that it may be printed in vol. iv. of the Society's *Journal*.

The Hon. General Secretary stated that in consequence of its being found that the Turkish Guaranteed 1855 Four per Cent. Stock were in certificates, with coupons payable to bearer, the £700 had been invested, in the same names, in London and North-Western Four per Cent. Guaranteed Stock.

Resolved that such investment be and it is hereby approved and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected the representatives of the Society on the Management Committee of the Grosvenor Museum, viz., Messrs. H. Beswick, G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., I. M. Jones, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., I. E. Ewen, and A. Lamont.

The Hon. Treasurer laid before the Council his annual statement of accounts up to the end of 1889, showing a balance to the good of £45. 3s. 10d.

The Hon. General Secretary laid before the Council the draft annual report, which, with slight alterations and additions, was adopted and ordered to be printed in time for the annual meeting.

The Hon. Editorial Secretary explained that the Society's *Journal*, containing the chief papers for 1888-9, would be a thin volume, as would also that for the past session.

Resolved that the papers in the two sessions form one volume, to be issued at the commencement of the next session—in October, if possible.

Resolved that the Annual General Meeting be held on the 19th May, and that his Grace the Duke of Westminster be invited to take the chair.

Resolved that as the number of the elected members on the Council of the Society had been increased from ten to twelve, one-half to retire annually, but to be eligible for re-election (see p. 242), that seven members be elected at the next annual meeting, so as to make the number complete.

Resolved that such elected members be elected by ballot, nominations to be sent (in writing) to the General Hon. Secretary six days beforehand.

Resolved that Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., be the Hon. Editorial Secretary for the ensuing year.

Resolved that in lieu of a Hon. General Secretary and an Assistant Hon. General Secretary, two joint Hon. General Secretaries be appointed.

Resolved that Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and Dr. John Elliott, B.Sc., be the joint Hon. General Secretaries, on the understanding that the latter undertakes the active part of the duties of the office and sees to the execution of the work.

The Hon. General Secretary read letters received from Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., Lancing College, Sussex, with reference to further search being made for inscribed stones in the north wall of the city.

Resolved that the Ven. Archdeacon Barber be deputed to wait upon the Improvement Committee of the Corporation, and submit Mr. Haverfield's suggestions to them on the subject, in the hope that such committee will see their way to give the required permission.

Resolved that Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., be the Hon. Curator for the ensuing year.

Resolved that Mr. I. E. Ewen be the Hon. Librarian for the ensuing year.

Resolved that Mr. George Frater be the Hon. Treasurer for the ensuing year.

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

*Chairman.*

May 19th, 1890.

*Council Meeting, 19th May, 1890.*

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, the 19th May, 1890.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A. (chairman); the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., Messrs. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., A. Lamont, I. E. Ewen, I. Matthews Jones, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Ven. Archdeacon Barber reported that he had attended before the Improvement Committee, and explained Mr. Haverfield's proposals, and he understood the matter would be brought before the Town Council at their next meeting.

The Hon. Secretary reported that Dr. Elliott did not see his way to become an Hon. Secretary of the Society.

Resolved that Mr. William Shone, F.G.S., be an Hon. Secretary of the Society instead of Dr. Elliott.

Resolved that the following bills be paid, viz.:—

Messrs. Charles Griffin and Co.	-	£	0	7	6
Mr. Walker V. Daniell	-	-	0	8	0
Messrs. Reeves and Turner	-	-	0	3	6

(Signed) EDWARD BARBER,

August 5th, 1890.

*Chairman.*

*Annual General Meeting, Monday, 19th May, 1890.*

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on Monday, the 19th May, at 5-30 o'clock, in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum.

Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, M.A. (chairman); Revs. S. C. Scott, M.A., and C. L. Feltoe,

M.A., Col. D. Scotland, Messrs. S. Rigby, J.P., H. A. Hall, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S. (Hon. Curator), I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), A. Lamont, sen., A. Lamont, jun., Prichard, I. Matthews Jones, C.E., W. Vincent, and Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. General Secretary).

The Chairman apologised for the absence of his Lordship the President, in consequence of the recent death of his mother.

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by the Hon. General Secretary as follows:—

The Council have again to congratulate the Society upon the termination of another successful session. The first meeting was held on the 29th October last, when the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester occupied the chair, and a paper by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., F.S.A., Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge University, on a Runic Inscription recently found at Overchurch, Upton, near Birkenhead, was read. A cast of the inscribed stone, set in a wooden casing, was presented by Mr. Thomas Webster, of Leasowe Bank, Wallasey, the owner, to the Society, and was exhibited at the meeting.

The following papers were subsequently read:—

*18th November:—*

“The Chester Minstrels” (illustrated with early mediæval part and catch songs), by J. C. Bridge, Esq., M.A., Mus.Doc. A valuable set of “Recorders,” a rare musical instrument, belonging to the Society, was exhibited at this meeting.

*23rd December:—*

"The Life and Times of Thomas Cartwright, D.D., Bishop of Chester, 1686-9," by the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., Eastham.

*24th February:—*

"The Hundred of Wirral" (illustrated by lantern exhibitions of recent photographic slides), by Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry.

*24th March:—*

"The Roman Inscriptions of Deva," by Professor Hübner, of Berlin; and a communication on "The Tomb of M. Aurelius Alexander," by M. Mowat, of Paris.

*10th April:—*

"The Chester Festivals of a Hundred Years Ago," by J. C. Bridge, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc.

The meetings have, as a rule, been well attended, and the papers have been very interesting.

The Council regret that the Trustees of the Grosvenor Museum did not see their way to accept a loan of the proceeds of the sale of the Society's Derby House property, secured by mortgage or deposit of the title deeds of the Museum buildings; and the Council, being advised that their Trustees were not empowered to carry out their wishes, by making a gift of the money to the Grosvenor Museum, have invested £700 in the name of trustees for the Society in London and North-Western Railway Four-per-cent Guaranteed Stock, and have applied the balance, after payment of all necessary expenses, in a large

addition to the Society's library, including many books of much local interest.

In addition to the above, the library has received many important donations, and now contains a valuable series of books, open at all times to members of the Society.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Account, a copy of which is annexed, shows a balance to the end of the year 1889 of £45. 3s. 10d. in favour of the Society, but a bill for printing has yet to be paid.

The present number of members of the Society is two hundred and seventy-five, including eight honorary, six life, and two hundred and sixty-one ordinary members. The Council are anxious, if possible, to raise the number of members to three hundred and fifty, which would enable more money to be spent on the Society's *Journal* and illustrations.

As the Society's *Journal* for the year 1888-9 will be a comparatively thin volume, the Council have decided to print the chief papers for the current year 1889-90 in the same volume, and to issue this volume at the commencement of the new Session in October of this year. By this means the papers read during the past Session will be in the hands of the members at the beginning of the new Session, and the Council hope that this rule will be adhered to in the future.

Very considerable interest continues to be taken, not only in this country, but also on the continent, in the fine series of Roman remains discovered in the north wall of the city in the year 1887, and fully described and illustrated in the second volume of the Society's *Journal*. Quite recently the Council have been approached by F. Haverfield, Esq., M.A., of Lancing College, Sussex, with a view to further excavations



being made, by means of a fund which Mr. Haverfield has collected. The Council of the Society have been glad to be able to accede to this request, and have placed themselves in communication with the corporation of the city, and are hopeful that the necessary permission will be given. The excavations will be under the superintendence of the city surveyor, and all the remains found will be deposited in the Grosvenor Museum.

Thanks to the kindness of C. Darbishire, Esq., an interesting series of early British urns found at Penmaenmawr have been presented to the Society, and are now in the Society's collection at the Grosvenor Museum.

In accordance with the wishes of the Society, as expressed at the last Annual Meeting, the Council have altered the rules so as to admit of *twelve* members of the Society being elected on the Council, instead of ten, as heretofore. These will be elected by ballot, and six members will retire each year, but will be eligible for re-election. This year there will have to be seven members elected, who, together with the five old members, will constitute the twelve elected members of the Council for the ensuing year.

The Hon. General Secretary then read the Hon. Treasurer's statement of account, as follows:—

# THE CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Cr. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE from 1st JANUARY, 1889, to 31st DECEMBER, 1889. Dr.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions and Arrears ... ..	121	13	0
Subscriptions for 1890... ..	1	11	6
Journals sold to Members ... ..	1	10	0
Rents of Derby House Property, to date of sale ...	2	14	4
Bank Interest on Deposit Account ... ..	11	4	11
Balance of Deposit Account, transferred to General Account, for Library Expenses... ..	67	15	8

£206 9 5

22nd April, 1890. Examined and found correct,

H. W. JONES, }  
J. ROWE DUTTON, } *Honorary Auditors.*

GEORGE FRATER, *Honorary Treasurer.*

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to Messrs. Williams & Co., Bankers ...	18	11	5
Grosvenor Museum Management Committee ... ..	50	0	0
Do. do. hire of Lantern ... ..	0	7	6
Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery ... ..	8	5	3
Illustrations and Index to vol. ii., <i>Journal</i> ... ..	3	3	0
Library Expenses, New Books, Binding, &c. ... ..	56	14	10
Postages, Carriage, and Sundry Expenses ... ..	14	19	8
Commission on collecting subscriptions ... ..	3	17	6
Repairs, &c. ... ..	2	8	9
Bank Charges and Cheque Book ... ..	2	17	8
Balance with Messrs. Williams & Co., Bankers ...	161	5	7
	45	3	10
	£206	9	5

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, the Annual Report and the Hon. Treasurer's statement were adopted and passed.

The ballot papers having been distributed, the following gentlemen were elected members of the Council. The first named to retire next year, and the remainder in 1892, viz.: Mr. John Hewitt, Messrs. John Elliott, M.D., B.Sc., Thos. Smith Gleadowe, M.A., Isaac Matthews Jones, Alex. Lamont, sen., Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and Henry Stolterfoth, M.D., M.A.

Proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, and unanimously resolved that the following lords and gentlemen be appointed on the Council for the year ending May, 1891, viz. :—

**Patron.**

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

**COUNCIL.**

**President.**

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, D.D.

**Vice-Presidents.**

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD EGERTON OF TATTON.

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF CHESTER

THE SHERIFF OF CHESTER

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHESTER, D.D.

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER, M.A.

HIS HONOUR JUDGE HORATIO LLOYD, *Recorder of Chester.*

HIS HONOUR JUDGE WYNNE FFOULKES, M.A.

MR. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.

MR. FREDERICK POTTS.

} *Ex-Officio.*

**Hon. Secretaries.**

*Editorial:* MR. JOHN PARSONS EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

*General:* MR. HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

*Assistant:* MR. HARRY BESWICK.

**Hon. Curator.**

MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

**Hon. Librarian.**

MR. I. E. EWEN.

**Hon. Treasurer.**

MR. GEORGE FRATER.

Elected Members.

To Retire in 1891.

MR. E. J. BAILLIE, F.L.S.  
MR. ALDERMAN CHARLES BROWN.  
MR. F. BULLIN, J.P.  
DR. DAVIES-COLLEY, J.P.  
REV. HENRY GRANTHAM.  
MR. JOHN HEWITT.

To Retire in 1892.

MR. JOHN ELLIOTT, M.D., B.Sc.  
MR. T. S. GLEADOWE, M.A.  
MR. I. M. JONES.  
MR. ALEXANDER LAMONT, SEN.  
REV. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A.  
MR. STOLTERFOTH, M.A., M.D.

Proposed by Mr. E. J. Baillie, seconded by Mr. Alex. Lamont, and unanimously resolved that Messrs. Henry Watson Jones and John Rowe Dutton be the Hon. Auditors for the accounts of the Society.

Proposed by Col. Scotland, seconded by Mr. S. Rigby, and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of the members be given to the President and Council for their work during the past year.

The Hon. Curator then described certain urns and their contents, found in a Celtic Barrow recently unearthed at Penmaenmawr, and presented to the Society by Mr. C. Darbishire.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Society be accorded to Mr. C. Darbishire for his gift.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Society be accorded to the donors for the following gifts of books, viz.:—By the Sussex Archæological Society, vol. xxxvii. of their *Journal*; by the Trustees of the British Museum, three vols. of *Catalogues of Books printed in England, in Ireland, and in Scotland, and English Books printed abroad, that are in the British Museum*; by Miss Georgina Jackson, *Early Art in Liverpool*.

Proposed by Mr. J. H. A. Hall, seconded by the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of this meeting be accorded to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair.



## RULES.

### TITLE.

The Society shall be called "The Chester Archæological and Historic Society."

### PURPOSES.

The Objects of the Society shall be—

- (1) The collection and publication of Archæological and Historic information relating to the City and County of Chester and the neighbourhood.
- (2) The preservation in a permanent Museum of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest in the City and County of Chester and neighbourhood.

### CONSTITUTION.

The Society shall consist of Life, Ordinary, and Honorary Members.

*Life Members.*—Donors of ten pounds or more shall be members for life, and shall be entitled to copies of the Society's *Journal* as published.

*Ordinary Members* shall consist of all subscribers of ten shillings and sixpence per annum. They shall have the right of attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have the use of the Library, and access to the Museum. They shall also have a copy of the Society's *Journal* for the year for which their subscription is paid.

*Honorary Members* shall be chosen by the Council.

## MANAGEMENT.

The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, to consist of the following persons:—The President, Vice-Presidents, and Officers of the Society, viz., the Editorial Secretary, the General Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Treasurer, the Curator, and the Librarian. To these shall be added twelve members to be elected by the Society at the annual meeting. The Council shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if necessary.

Six of the elected members shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election. The election shall be by ballot. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. The Secretaries and other Officers of the Society shall be annually elected by the Council.

The Council may appoint sub-committees for special purposes, who shall act under the control and supervision of the Council.

If any member shall be desirous of altering any rule, he shall propose such alteration, in writing, to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the Council at their next meeting; but before any rule shall be altered by the Council, notice thereof must be given at a previous meeting.

There shall be an annual general meeting, to be held in the month of May, and also monthly meetings as far as possible on the third Monday in each month during the session.

A special general meeting may be called, of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given, stating the objects of the meeting, on a written requisition to the General Secretary, signed by not less than five members.

## PROPERTY.

When the Council shall consider any paper, read at a meeting of the Society, worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the writer to submit the manuscript to the Editorial Secretary for that purpose, so that it may appear in the Society's *Journal*.

The writer of any paper printed in the *Journal* shall receive twenty copies of his own paper gratis.

All Antiquities, Books, Prints, &c., belonging to the Society shall be preserved for the use of the members at the Grosvenor Museum, and in such rooms and custody as shall be appointed by the Council. All orders for payment, &c., shall be made by the Council and signed by the General Secretary. All cheques shall be drawn and signed by the Treasurer. The accounts shall be audited by two members appointed at the annual meeting.

#### ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

The names of candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed and seconded by two members at any meeting of the Society or the Council.

All subscriptions shall become due on the 1st day of January in each year.

No volume of the Society's *Journal* can be delivered to any member whose subscription is in arrear.





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CORRECTED TO THE 22ND APRIL, 1890.

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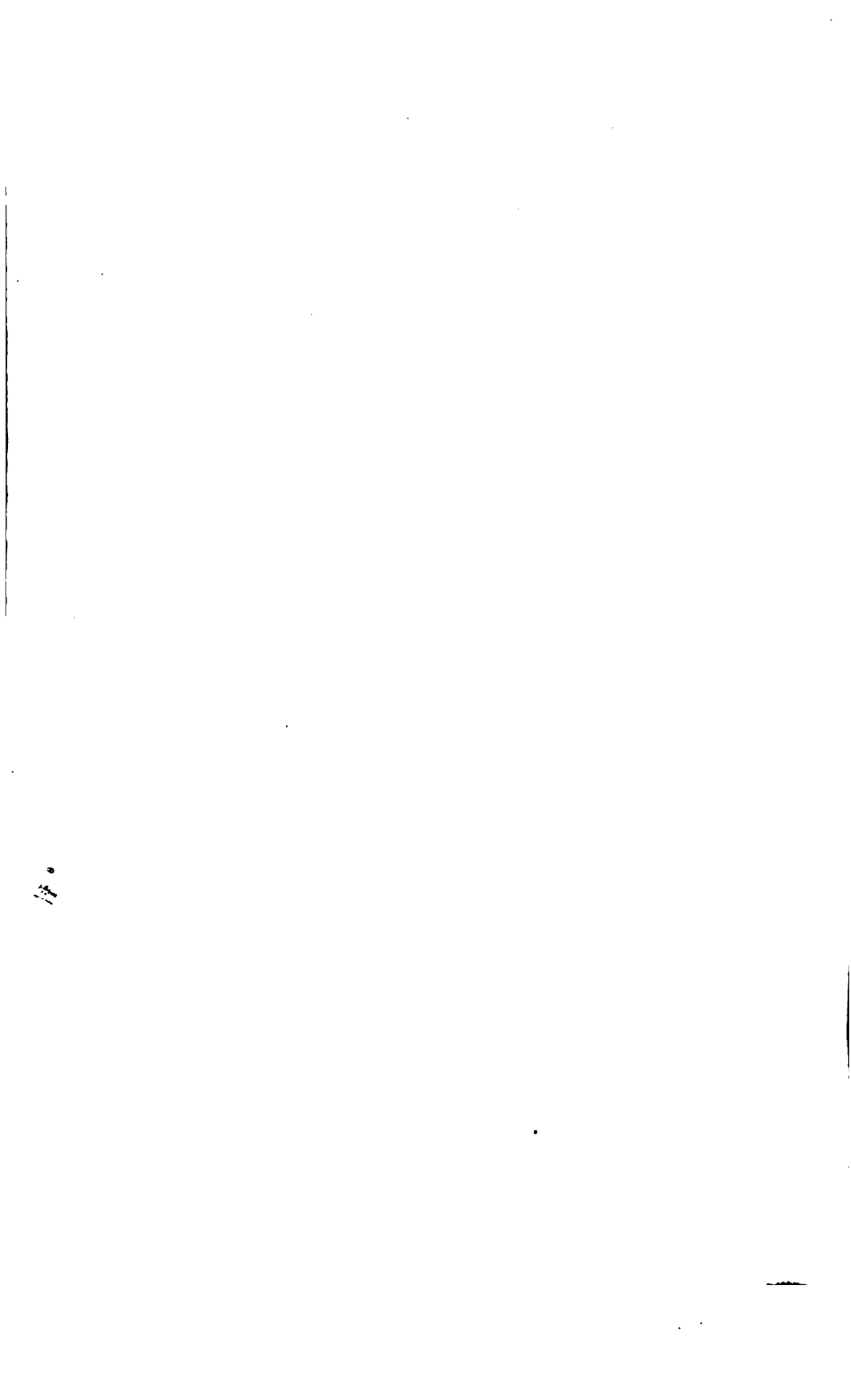
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